# The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem

## Fourth- and Fifth-Century Evidence from Palestine, Syria and Egypt

Juliette Day

# THE BAPTISMAL LITURGY OF JERUSALEM

Was Jerusalem, under her bishop Cyril, the source of liturgical innovations in the fourth century or was she simply following trends which also affected the liturgy of neighbouring provinces? In assessing these two established propositions in relation to baptism, Juliette Day undertakes a careful comparative analysis of all the relevant sources for Palestine, Egypt and Syria, paying attention to the structure, content and theological narrative of the rites which they describe. The *Mystagogical Catecheses*, commonly attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, are the key source in this discussion and this book demonstrates that they date from the episcopate of his successor John.

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# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| *AB* | *Analecta Bollandiana* |
| *AC* | The *Apostolic Constitutions* |
| ACW | Ancient Christian Writers series |
| *AIRI* | E.J. Yarnold, *The Awe Inspiring Rites of Initiation* (2nd edn. Edinburgh, 1994) |
| *AL* | *The Armenian Lectionary* |
| *AE* | *AL* contained in the manuscript *Erevan 985* |
| *AJ* | *AL* contained in the manuscript *Jerusalem 121* |
| *AP* | *AL* contained in the manuscript *Paris 44* |
| *AT* | The *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus |
| *BEBP* | Day, J., *Baptism in Early Byzantine Palestine 325–451* (Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 43. Cambridge, 1999) |
| *Cat./Cats* | *Catechetical Lecture(s)* |
| CCSL | Corpus Christianorum Series Latina |
| *CH* | The *Canons of Hippolytus* |
| *CR* | Timothy of Alexandria (attr.), *Canonical Responses* |
| CSCO | Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium |
| CSS | Cistercian Studies Series |
| *EH* | *Ecclesiastical History* |
| FoC | Fathers of the Church series |
| *Hom.* | *Homily* |
| *It.Eg.* | *Itinerarium Egeriae* |
| *JEH* | *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* |
| *JTS* | *Journal of Theological Studies* |
| *Mart.Pal.* | Eusebius of Caesarea, *The Martyrs of Palestine* |
| *MC* | *Mystagogical Catecheses* |
| *MF* | John Chrysostom, *Catechetical Lectures* published by Montfaucon |
| NPNF | Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers series |
| OCA | Orientalia Christiana Analecta series |
| *OCP* | *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* |
| *PG* | J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* |
| *P-K* | John Chrysostom, *Catechetical Lectures* published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus |
| PO | Patrologia Orientalis series |
| *Procat.* | Cyril of Jerusalem, *Procatechesis* |
| SChr | Sources Chrétiènnes series |
| *Ser.* | Serapion, *Sacramentary* |
| *SL* | *Studia Liturgica* |
| *SP* | *Studia Patristica* |

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| *Stav.* | John Chrysostom, *Catechetical Lectures* from the Stavronikita manuscript |
| *TD* | *Testamentum Domini* |
| *TS* | *Theological Studies* |
| *V.Char.* | *Life of Charition* |
| *V.Euthym.* | Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Euthymius* |
| *V.Hil.* | Jerome, *Life of Hilarion* |
| *V.Porph.* | Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyrius* |
| *VC* | *Vigiliae Christianae* |

# Comparing Liturgies

In what follows we shall compare the baptismal liturgies of Jerusalem and Palestine with those from West Syria and Egypt in a period covering roughly the fourth and early fifth centuries. Why these particular liturgies from these provinces in this time period? It is a commonplace in liturgical scholarship to declare the century following the 'peace of Constantine' as a time of liturgical development and consolidation. The higher public profile of Christian worship and increased communication between sees had the two-fold effect of the elaboration of the public worship of the state religion and the sharing and borrowing of liturgical practices between sees. Among the sees deemed to be a net exporter of liturgical practices Jerusalem has rated pretty high.[1] It is assumed that the vast, but unknown, number of pilgrims from all over the empire visited Jerusalem and the holy sites in Palestine, returning with accounts of innovative and captivating liturgies which their own churches were invited to emulate. Cyril who was bishop of Jerusalem for the latter part of the fourth century, *c*. 349–86/7, is credited with being a skilled creator of liturgies who personally oversaw the elaboration of the stational liturgies and those of the Holy Sepulchre complex.[2] Jerusalem, it is said, had such prominence that the patterns and theology of its liturgy became normative for the entire eastern church. This is particularly asserted of the baptismal liturgy described in three homilies given to the newly baptized (called neophytes) in the week following their baptism at Easter and which are generally assigned to the bishop Cyril. The neighbouring provinces, with a far greater history and precedence in the empire and whose bishops outranked the bishop of Jerusalem, are unlikely to have ignored the liturgical developments in Jerusalem and probably did incorporate foreign theological and liturgical ideas into their existing rites. By a process of comparison and elimination, it has been considered possible to identify which particular aspects of the Jerusalem rite were adopted elsewhere and to chart the progress of the liturgical innovations around the eastern Mediterranean basin.

It is these claims which our study intends to investigate more closely: was Jerusalem and its frequently exiled bishop really that influential in the mid and late fourth century? Did Jerusalem innovate and export liturgical ideas without being itself subject to influence from outside? How will it be possible to determine the

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[1]  See, for example, Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London, 1945), p. 202: 'The great influence which the [eucharistic] rite of Jerusalem was destined to exert directly and indirectly on all the Eastern rites (and even some Western ones) during and after the fourth century …'.

[2]  See John Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (OCA 228. Rome, 1987), p. 83 and elsewhere.

influence of one liturgical pattern upon another? This chapter will address the last of these questions.

## Sources

The baptismal liturgies of the three provinces are available in various sources of different genres: homilies, sacramentaries, church orders, biographies, even archaeological evidence. As is the case with any historic liturgical text performance has to be inferred from clues given in rubrics if these exist, the presumed spatial context of its performance and anecdotes in unexpected places. A study such as this requires close attention to the multiplicity of the sources which provide our evidence. The appropriateness and value of a particular primary source for our purpose is likely to be determined by clear indications that it does indeed refer to the liturgy of the provinces we are examining and that it can be dated relatively safely to the period which we are investigating. This may seem obvious, but there are too many examples of liturgical scholarship where practice in one see is inferred from another which is geographically remote without any connection being demonstrated. Our sources also show that variations in practice did occur within provinces, with sometimes marked differences between cities and the hinterland; it would again seem unnecessary to state that these differences must be taken seriously and that conflating them into an homogeneous rite for an entire province does an injustice to the evidence. Attentiveness to our sources is absolutely essential in a comparative exercise. Paul Bradshaw in the first edition of *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship* proposed, as his tenth principle for the study of early liturgical evidence, that 'Texts must always be studied in context'.[3] In the second edition, he elaborates this with a warning that

> Many liturgical historians … have often had the propensity to treat the sources that they use as simply offering raw factual data, and have failed to consider such matters as the particular character of the text, the author's aims and intentions in its composition, and the context in which it was written. Yet the answers to these questions are vital for a proper interpretation of any source … .[4]

In our study, attention to such a principle is essential, as problems arising from the lack of attentiveness in the case of a single document will increase exponentially when applied in a comparative analysis to the interpretation of a whole range of sources. The evidence for baptism in Palestine is such that we have proposed two distinct types; one which follows the model of Jerusalem and a simpler, possibly more archaic, model elsewhere.[5]

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[3] Paul Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship* (1st edn. London, 1992), p. 77. In the second edition he discusses but does not list these 'Ten Principles'.

[4] Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship* (2nd edn. London, 2001), p. 15. All further references are to this second edition.

[5] Juliette Day, *Baptism in Early Byzantine Palestine 325–451* (Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 43. Cambridge, 1999), pp. 11–37.

Hints that the liturgy of one province has influenced another may be indicated by, for example, identical rituals, or the same ritual sequence, or by similar theological and scriptural justification of a particular ritual or an entire rite. Thus the comparison we shall undertake will involve two aspects of the rites: the structure or shape of the baptismal rite, and secondly the manner in which the story of salvation is applied to the rite and thereby appropriated by the candidate. This two-fold analysis of structure and narrative must be applied to each component of the rite just as much as to the entire rite: a coherent rite or explanation will show consistency in the narrative; a rite which has been subject to external influence will indicate that by a shift in the narrative or by an individual ritual being out of place when seen in the context of the whole rite. To undertake a comparison between rites based upon structure and narrative we will need to isolate these factors for each individual rite within each province and only then look for similarities. We need now to explain what we mean by structure and narrative in this study and how we will apply it in our discussion of the sources.

## Structure

Much use of structure as an organizing principle is concerned with the identification of underlying patterns which are universal and which reveal the primitive layer of a rite or liturgical unit. Such is the use of structure in Dix's identification of a 'shape' to the eucharistic liturgy, Anton Baumstark's organic model of the liturgy and comparative method, and in Robert Taft's work on the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom.[6] In these studies the aim has been to uncover the accretions to a single rite so that it is possible to reveal the earlier stages in its development and thus arrive at the primitive form. Baumstark presumed that the liturgy has an essential unity, at least in origins, but later exhibits local diversity and that there is an organic relationship between the primitive and the later form. If you can identify the mechanism by which liturgical evolution occurs, then laws can be proposed which would govern evolution in any circumstance; these can be applied wherever one wishes to uncover a primitive form and for which parts of the evidence may be lacking. It is structure which reveals the relationships between liturgical units (for Baumstark, these are on the scale of the ordo or temporal units such as Lent, the sanctorale), indicating descent, emulation and borrowing.[7] In general he proposed that, while the liturgy is conservative, retaining older patterns at the most sacred seasons, there is a pattern of evolution from austerity to richness, brevity to prolixity, until pruned in a retrograde movement. His starting point is therefore the liturgical form at the end of the period, inferring development by the application of these laws he arrived at the primitive.

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[6] Dix (1945), chapter 4**;** Anton Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy* (London, 1958), especially chapter 2; Robert Taft, *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of the Gifts and other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (OCA 200. Rome, 1975) and subsequent volumes on this liturgy.

[7] Fritz West, 'Baumstark's Tree and Thoughts after Harvest', in Robert Taft and Gabrielle Winkler (eds), *Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years After Anton Baumstark (1872–1948)* (OCA 265. Rome, 2001), p. 176.

Baumstark's position has been modified but his heirs continue to use a method based upon structural analysis. Taft has written much more than others on the methods he employs, even if this is not his principal concern. For him structure outlives meaning and thus a structural analysis can reveal the raw materials; the liturgical historian must then use other methods to work out what that which is revealed might mean for liturgical development. Taft, too, peels the layers of the onion to arrive at the pristine form of a liturgical unit (for Taft, this is more compact, a prayer or short sequence) before decomposition set in by later additions:

> the usefulness of a structural approach [is] in isolating the original shape and purpose of our by now rather cluttered liturgical rites, but also shows the underlying commonality of our several liturgical traditions, which in liturgiology, as in linguistics, makes comparative structural analysis possible.[8]

Following Levi-Strauss' structural analysis of myths,[9] Taft suggests that liturgy too has deep and surface structure: 'What Lévi-Strauss calls the "surface structure" may vary from language to language, but the "deep structure" is common – and commonality is the basis of all generalization and the prerequisite of all system.'[10] This Taft has applied to liturgical study by the identification of a 'deep structure' and the 'deep commonality underlying all individual differences that permits systematization'.[11] His method is 'to identify, isolate and hypothetically reconstruct individual liturgical structures, then trace their history … rather than attempt to study complete rites as a unity in each historical period'.[12] And in relation to the accretions suffered by the liturgy, he proposes that liturgy grows at the soft points (a ritual not accompanied by words) and that when it is revised it is the earlier elements, the meaning of which had been lost, which are removed.

Taft considers the liturgy to represent the

> heritage of a particular group, a set of conventions for conducting worship which have repeated patterns and are resistant to change. Because there are similarities as well as differences, comparison is possible: liturgy has a set of similarities consistent and numerous enough to demonstrate either a common Ur tradition, or later borrowing and mutual influence among traditions; and 2. simultaneously, a set of significant variants that must be accounted for in a way that does not contradict what we affirm regarding the similarities. For if there are no differences, one does not have comparison but identity. Conversely, if there is no similarity one has contrast, and little or no basis for comparison.[13]

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[8]   Robert Taft, 'The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units: An Essay in Methodology', in ibid., *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (2nd edn. Rome, 2001), p. 202.

[9]   Claude Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (New York, 1963), chapters 11 and 12.

[10]   Taft, 'Structural Analysis', p. 188.

[11]   Ibid., p. 189.

[12]   Ibid., p. 192–3.

[13]   Robert Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, vol. 5: The Pre-Communion Rites* (OCA 261. Rome, 2000), p. 49.

The structural analysis highlights the problems but does not solve them, this must happen by historical methods of hypothesis formation and testing.[14]

Classic structuralism and the structural approach to liturgical texts is concerned with revealing the original form of a rite or a liturgical unit. It arranges the sources in chronological order and works back towards the earliest; a *diachronic* method. In this study, we are not so much concerned with the earliest form but with whether a rite or liturgical unit displays evidence of influence from another within a given time-frame; our method will be *synchronic*. A structural analysis of the sources provides us with the raw material for the comparison of rites and liturgical units in and between the provinces. First, though, we need to organize the material according to the sequence of the rite which the sources themselves indicate as this provides the most systematic manner of undertaking comparisons where we have such a large amount of information. Using Taft's essay on the structural analysis of liturgical units as a basis only, we have developed a methodology which attempts to find both what is common and what is distinct.

Whatever differences there are between initiation rites, the invariable presence of a water rite preceded and succeeded by other rituals would make it self-evident that the 'deep structure' of an initiation rite has three components, regardless of what takes place within each of these. The 'deep structure' consists of the 'Pre-Immersion Rituals', 'The Immersion' and 'Post-Immersion Rituals'; these, I refer to as *primary structural units*. The sources themselves permit a further sub-division of the three *primary structural units* into what I shall call *secondary structural units*; these are common, but not universal. For example, all rites can be said to have the *primary structural unit* of the 'Pre-Immersion Rituals' but, the constituent *secondary structural unit* of the renunciation is not conducted with the same words, ritual, time or place in the different provinces. The analysis of *secondary structural units* provides the similarities and distinctions from which the relationship between the rites of different provinces may most profitably be discerned. In any comparative analysis there will be one text which provides the basis for the comparison, in our instance the Jerusalem *Mystagogical Catecheses* (*MC*) are the text against which we wish to measure the other rites. Our study of the secondary structural units and their sequence will therefore be determined by *MC*; were we to start with the Antiochene rite described by Chrysostom, the study of the secondary units would be determined by the sequence of that rite.

*MC* can be divided into three primary structural units and six secondary structural units. The first primary unit, the Pre-Immersion Rituals, contains the renunciation, the adherence and the pre-immersion anointing. The second primary unit, the Immersion, does not lend itself to a division into several secondary units. It would be artificial to divide the administration of water from the words which accompanied it, although where the water is consecrated in front of the candidates as part of the liturgy that would form a distinct secondary unit. The third primary structural unit is the Post Immersion Rituals, which contains two secondary units: the post-immersion anointing which is properly initiatory; and, then acts which occur after the final

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[14] Ibid., p. 503; p. 525.

initiatory ritual and signify the candidates' change of status in the community. These we have called *transitional rituals* and they vary considerably between provinces.

What can we say about the similarities between liturgical units, even at the level of phrases and/or rituals? Are these the result of direct borrowing or simply the use of stock phrases?[15] A case in point might be the ubiquitous presence of 'pomp' among that which is to be renounced; this alone tells us nothing about the relationship of influence between sees, but slight differences in its explanation in catechetical material from the different provinces might be more helpful. Thus the structural approach permits the organization of the evidence according to the sequence of the rite which will reveal quite different initiatory patterns; it will not tell us very much, though, about what the rites and each liturgical unit might mean and this can only be revealed by attention to the narratives contained or implied in each rite.

## Narrative

Baptism permits the candidates to enter into and appropriate for themselves the history of salvation and this is demonstrated by the storied nature of the initiation rites. The candidates participate in their own narrative of salvation as they move from the catechumenate to become one of the Faithful; the liturgy of baptism places that personal narrative within the narrative of salvation by its use of biblical stories to structure and illustrate the rite. This is most obvious in the catechetical and homiletic sources, but even liturgical material contains biblical allusions which provide a theological focus for the rites and reveal how each unit is conceived to contribute to the initiation process.

The narrative of the whole rite can be revealed by the primary structure: the sequence of liturgical units indicating which rituals are climactic, which are preliminary and which are not truly initiatory. This structure of the rite is affected by the dominant biblical typology upon which the rite relies, and in turn this typology may affect the sequence and performance of secondary structural units and their perceived role in the initiatory process. The principal biblical typologies used in our sources are obviously those connected with baptism and the dominance of one can have a discernible influence on the theology and structure of the rite. These typologies can be summarized as follows.

### The Jordan event

Christ's own baptism in the Jordan (Matt. 3; Mark 1:4–13; Luke 3:21; John 1:29–34) is the prototype of Christian baptism, but it is rare for a source to draw upon a single gospel account, but rather upon a composite narrative. Christ, by submitting

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[15] See R. Sarason, 'On the use of method in the modern study of Jewish liturgy', in William Scott Green (ed.), *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Theory and Practice* (Brown Judaic Studies 1. Missoula, 1978), pp. 97–172. In his review of J. Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns* (Berlin, New York, 1977), Sarason (p. 146) comments that, 'Parallel occurrence of the same phraseology in several widely different contexts is then to be viewed as the natural use of certain stock phrases rather than as actual literary borrowing'.

to baptism, has permitted water to act sacramentally; and/or the descent of the Spirit upon Christ is a demonstration that the Spirit will descend, either upon the water in the act of consecration, or upon the candidate when immersed. Rites using this typology may also retain the significance of John's baptism for repentance and the forgiveness of sins, which permits the most obvious interpretation of washing as an act of (spiritual) cleansing. The appropriation of this typology in the Egyptian church is such that the font may be called the 'Jordan'.

### 'Water and the Spirit'

Christ's declaration to Nicodemus that 'No one can enter the kingdom of God without being born of water and the Spirit' (John 3:5) is employed to demonstrate the necessity of spiritual rebirth. Again, the physical washing conveys more than just a figurative cleansing, but it is distinguished from that above because it is not an imitation of either Christ's baptism or John's baptism. Where such a typology is employed the Spirit is usually conveyed *with* the water, but it does not necessarily require the Spirit to inhabit the waters. The subsequent rebirth may be expressed as the transformation of the candidate 'from the old man to the new', and it permits the candidate to share in the resurrection. In rites with this emphasis, the font may be described as a womb.

### Death and resurrection

In the immersion, the candidate imitates Christ's death, burial and resurrection, as Paul describes in Romans 6. Here the candidate's immersion is not at all related to Christ's baptism, neither in imitation nor in effect. The candidate experiences in baptism the death he deserved to experience as a result of his sin, and thus pre-empts his own death and resurrection. The baptismal water is not the means by which the Holy Spirit is received by the candidate, and so the consecration of the font will not have any epiklesis of the Spirit. The import of such an immersion is entirely Christological, an anamnesis of Christ's passion and resurrection only, and here the font may be referred to as a tomb.

The use of a typology by a particular rite has led some to trace the liturgical influence of one see upon another, or to posit that a primitive rite has been supplanted by another using a different typology. Most notably, Gabrielle Winkler suggested that the primitive Syrian tradition employed the typology of Christ's baptism, but that this was gradually eroded by the influence of Pauline death-resurrection typology causing the pre-immersion rituals to take on exorcistic functions and the gift of the Holy Spirit to be withheld until after the immersion.[16] Sharp distinctions have been made between rites based upon the Jordan event and those upon Romans 6, whereas it would be more accurate to say that although a rite or source may *prefer*

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[16] Gabrielle Winkler, 'The Original Meaning of the Prebaptismal Anointing and its Implications', *Worship*, 52 (1978): 24–45; and ibid., 'The Blessing of the Water in the Oriental Liturgies', *Concilium*, 178 (1985): 53–61.

one dominant typology, it generally never restricts itself to just one. And in addition to what structure will reveal about the similarity and differences between rites and liturgical units, we will need to be vigilant to the narrative which has influenced that structure and to places where the dominant typology is interrupted. This we will investigate in chapters 4, 5 and 6.

**Inference**

No liturgical source provides a complete account of the conduct or interpretation of a rite, otherwise the task of liturgical history would be somewhat less interesting and productive. Liturgical historians, just as much as those in any other field, are required to provide a coherent account based upon a reasoned interpretation of the available evidence and where that evidence is lacking to make reasoned judgments about what might fill the gap. The limits of inference then do need to be determined and in much liturgical study there has been a tendency to ignore this.

A few studies have compared *MC* with sources from other provinces, however these have not always been undertaken with attentiveness to the immediate context of sources. The most prominent of these, Edward Yarnold's *Awe Inspiring Rites of Initiation* and H.M Riley's *Christian Initiation*,[17] have sought to make comparisons between provinces or sees based upon selecting evidence from only one genre. So Yarnold can write:

> The four sets of sermons that form the main part of this book were preached during the fourth century in Milan, Jerusalem and Antioch. Despite the different languages in which they were written and the local variations of rite, the initiation ceremonies described in them *conform in essentials to a common pattern*.[18]

Similarly, Riley, wrote:

> The fact that our investigation can provide not only an analysis of the mystagogical interpretation which each of these four fathers gives to the baptismal rites, but also a comparison among the four, is made possible methodologically by the fact that the respective baptismal liturgies which they interpret, while differing in some aspects, *present on the whole remarkable similarity in the ceremonies which form the total complex of these liturgies*.[19]

A comparison of liturgical evidence, based upon the assessment of only one genre will necessarily lead to assumptions about the completeness of the evidence provided in that genre, and tends to be conducted on the further assumption that there is a higher level of convergence between rites than the evidence might permit. Any study

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[17]  E.J. Yarnold, *The Awe Inspiring Rites of Initiation* (2nd edn. Edinburgh, 1994). H.M. Riley, *Christian Initiation: A Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Ambrose of Milan* (Washington, 1974).

[18]  *AIRI*, p. 1. My italics.

[19]  Riley, *Christian Initiation*, p. 10. My italics.

of initiation in a single province or see requires the use of *all* sources of evidence which can be safely thought to correspond by date and provenance. Thus, before making any comparison between the rite of Jerusalem and that of Antioch, it is an absolute requirement that the rite of the church in each city is established using all the available evidence. In addition, just because we have an apparently good witness or witnesses from a major see, it cannot be presumed that the same rite was necessarily used elsewhere in the province. This is particularly the case for Antioch and West Syria, where the apparently conflicting evidence of Chrysostom, the *Apostolic Constitutions* and Theodore of Mopsuestia must be assessed and the differences accounted for in order for any comparison with *MC* and the Palestinian sources to take place.

Studies which are undertaken upon the premise of an 'essential unity',[20] as Riley proposed, are invariably forced to account for differences in the description of the rite by assuming that elements are 'missing' and then inserting these 'missing' elements from other sources in the comparison. This has been a prominent fault among those disturbed by the 'absence' of 'confirmation' in some early Eastern sources. For example, Neunheuser claimed that, in *MC*, Cyril [*sic*] provided 'the most impressive picture of the liturgy of baptism and … the basic lines of baptismal theology of one of the most important ecclesiastical centers of the East, *which may be taken as more or less typical for the initiation mysteries of this period in the East in general*'.[21] Then, in his discussion of the chrismation in *MC* 3, noting the absence of the laying on of hands, Burkhard Neunheuser concurred with Heinrich Elfers that: '"The evidence seems to show that even in the Eastern Church a laying on of hands was not lacking in the administration of confirmation"';[22] this does a serious injustice to the sources.

Less commonly, scholars may doubt the validity of evidence in one witness because of the presence or absence of an element in another dependent source, and so Leonel L. Mitchell accounted for the absence of a post-immersion ceremony in the description of baptism by the fifth century East Syrian teacher Narsai by concluding that the presence of one in Theodore must be an interpolation.[23] Clearly, if having established the credentials of a witness by a careful assessment about date and provenance and by sensitivity to the type of information which a particular genre can provide, assumptions about the presence of 'missing' or 'extra' elements needs corroboration by other sources which are themselves directly comparable in terms of date and provenance, even if presented in another genre. It is only after care has been taken with the evidence of each individual source that in the analysis one can raise doubts about the veracity of any one of them.

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Burkhard Neunheuser, *Baptism and Confirmation* (London, 1964), p. 138. My italics.

[22] Ibid., p. 145 n. 27. See Heinrich Elfers, Die *Kirchenordnung Hippolyts von Rom* (Paderborn, 1938), p. 141.

[23] Leonel L. Mitchell, 'Four Fathers on Baptism: St. John Chrysostom, St. Ephraem, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Narsai', in J. Vellian (ed.), *Studies on Syrian Baptism Rites* (Syrian Churches Series, vol. 6. Kottayam, 1973), p. 53.

So the limits of inference are determined in this study by geography, time, genre, structure and narrative. The establishment of the provenance and date of a source to determine its right to participate in this study is essential and, as it is not possible to maintain that any one source contains the entire liturgical experience of a particular province, evidence may need to be sought from a variety of sources. Structuralism permits inference on the basis that liturgies like other organisms conform to a common structure; in distinction from the organic model of the liturgy, our synchronic structural analysis will reveal the similarities and differences but provides only raw data from which to infer any practice in any province. In our attention to the narrative of a rite we will concern ourselves not just with the presence of a dominant typology but look for where it may be supplanted by another. It will be necessary, in the final analysis, to infer the relationship of influence between provinces but hopefully these restraints will prevent wild speculation.

Taft wrote that 'hypothesis formation' must come early in a study;[24] so what is our hypothesis? Firstly, we presume that there is some liturgical influence between Jerusalem and Palestine, West Syria and Egypt; this presumption is based upon a recognition of some shared characteristics gleaned from a superficial glance at the sources. Secondly, we are suspicious of claims for the dominant influence of *MC*, made, it seems to us, on the back of partial studies of the available evidence. *MC* has been regarded as innovative and early, such that any later rite which displays similar characteristics is regarded as indebted to *MC*. So, our third hypothesis is that *MC* is later than has been thought and that it was subject to influences which also affected the neighboring provinces.

These are the hypotheses which will be tested throughout this book. In the following two chapters we will present and evaluate the sources for baptism in Jerusalem and Palestine, and then for West Syria and Egypt noting the basis upon which the previous attempts to discern the relationship of influence have been made. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 contain the comparative analysis of each primary and secondary structural unit. Provisional conclusions about this relationship will be made, based upon the presence and sequence of structural units, their narrative and theology, the conduct of secondary units (words, ritual and participants), and from a consideration about what each unit achieves in the rite by its relationship to adjacent units. In the conclusion we will return to our hypotheses and propose a resolution to the problem of the relationship of influence and to the date and authorship of *MC*.

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[24]  Taft, 'Structural Analysis', p. 192.

# The Palestinian Sources

In this chapter we will present the relevant sources for baptism in Palestine in the fourth and fifth centuries. As we have already noted, our evidence comes from a number of different genres: catechesis, mystagogy and biography. The latter is less commonly used in liturgical history, but it can provide useful incidental details which enable us to move out of the cathedrals and into the provinces. In *Baptism in Early Byzantine Palestine*, I presented and assessed many of these different sources and only the most pertinent will be included here. Omitted here is the archaeological evidence which is not extensive but is very useful in determining the conduct of the rite where there are no rubrics or descriptions of movement. That study made it clear that baptism could be administered differently depending upon the context and it should not be presumed that the cathedral style was normative, even though in most provinces it is that rite which has been preserved.

The most comprehensive account of baptism in Palestine is contained in the first three of the five *Mystagogical Catecheses* (*MC*) which comment upon the rite which the audience had just undergone at an unspecified Easter at the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. These short lectures provide us with the sequence of the rite and an explanation of the principal elements, but in only a few instances do they give us precise words and rituals. The 18 *Catechetical Lectures* (*Cats*) given to candidates before baptism are comprehensive in their theological scope, but contain scant references to the conduct of the sacrament for which the catechumens are being prepared. Additionally, the *Procatechesis* (*Procat.*) delivered to candidates at the start of their Lenten preparation for baptism has some limited baptismal theology but nothing at all about the liturgy. These three sources are linked by the place of delivery, the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and by the office of the preacher, the bishop; but what more can be said about the the relationship between them? Can we assume that the baptismal rite discussed or alluded to was the same for all three Jerusalem sources?

There are two other significant sources for Jerusalem: the 'travel diary' of Egeria (*It.Eg.*) and the three recensions of the *Armenian Lectionary* (*AL*). The resolution of the date of these is essential if we are to relate their evidence to that of *Cats* and *MC*. None of our sources are entirely contradictory, but we will find that neither are they close enough to be mutually illuminating. In this preliminary examination of these sources we shall have to make an assessment about how they relate to each other based upon conclusions about date, authorship and reliability of their evidence.

**The *Mystagogical Catecheses* (*MC*)**

It had been traditional to assert that *Cats* and *MC* are by the same author and that together they form a complete set of pre- and post-baptismal catechetical lectures from the same year, generally presumed to be between 348 and 352.[1] An alternative is to posit that the literary and theological differences between the two sets are so distinct that they cannot possibly be by the same author, and *MC* therefore dates from the episcopate of John (387–417).[2] There have been some refinements to these positions: Yarnold supports Cyrilline authorship, but dates *MC* to the end of Cyril's episcopate;[3] and Paulin proposed that *MC* were delivered by John on the basis of a text written by Cyril.[4] These latter positions are attractive on a number of counts: they resolve the stylistic, liturgical and linguistic problems, while taking account of the apparently irresolvable manuscript and internal evidence for the date. As will be seen, however, it is these, rather than the more traditional positions, which rely on considerably more speculation.

The importance of this debate for the history of the liturgy cannot be underestimated. If we conclude that *MC* are indeed by Cyril and date from about the same time as *Cats*, then we presume for Jerusalem in the 350s the highly developed baptismal rite of *MC*; consequently, we could propose that elements such as the chrismation and a theology of baptism based on Romans 6, which are found in later sources from neighbouring provinces, did originate in Jerusalem. If, however, we conclude Johannine authorship, then the rites in *MC* might demonstrate more widespread liturgical evolution, which affected other provinces just as much as Jerusalem. The role of the Jerusalem church is crucial – does she adopt changes in rites and theology which are happening simultaneously in the East, or is she the impetus behind them? We will need to assess the evidence for the date and authorship of *MC* in order to propose a working hypothesis to serve in the later comparisons.

*The manuscript evidence*

The titles of manuscripts do not generally provide incontrovertible proof of authorship due to the vagaries of copying and its impact on families of manuscripts. *MC* presents a quite complicated case to unravel. There are texts of all or part of the lectures in greek mostly, but also aramaic and armenien, and these can be divided into three principal categories: those which name Cyril as author, those which name John, and those which attribute *MC* to both. To complicate matters further, the manuscripts may contain the entire catechetical corpus or only part, and attributions may be placed at the head of the whole corpus, at the head of each lecture, differently

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[1] For the 'traditional' position, see F.L. Cross, *Cyril of Jerusalem: Lectures on the Christian Sacraments* (repr. New York, 1977) and E.H. Gifford, *S. Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechetical Lectures* (NPNF 2nd series, vol. 7. Oxford, 1893).

[2] See W.J. Swaans, 'À Propos des Catéchèses Mystagogiques Attribuées à saint Cyrille de Jérusalem', *Le Muséon*, 55 (1942): 1–42.

[3] E.J. Yarnold, 'The Authorship of the *Mystagogical Catecheses* attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem', *Heythrop Journal*, 19 (1978): p. 161.

[4] A. Paulin, *Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem: Catéchète* (Lex Orandi 29. Paris, 1959), p. 53.

for *Cats* and *MC*. A thorough analysis of the different texts and the arguments for accepting or rejecting the manuscript title was undertaken by W. Swaans in 1942 and Alexis Doval again reviewed the evidence again in 2001; we will not revisit this discussion in detail here except to note that despite these commentators having drawn upon the same resources they arrived at quite different conclusions: Swaans finding for John and Doval for Cyril.

The manuscript evidence alone does not provide us with any concrete evidence that *MC* are the work of Cyril, and equally it cannot be demonstrated that they are by John. That *Cats* have circulated without *MC*, and sometimes without *Procat.*, does not prove that *MC* and *Cats* have different authors when one considers the different purpose of each set of lectures. Cyril's reputation as a catechist was established within five or six years of his death,[5] and thus it would not be surprising for any hagiopolite catechetical material to be attributed to him. But Swaans perceptively pointed out that, considering John was famed for heterodoxy not catechetics, the addition of his name to a manuscript bearing Cyril's was unlikely and that where both Cyril and John are named it is more probable that Cyril's name was added.[6] The attribution to John alone occurs in only one manuscript, and those dependent on it: this is insufficient evidence upon which to base a conclusion. At best the manuscript evidence is neutral and at the very worst it raises questions about Cyril as author. We must therefore look for alternative indications for a date of composition from which to conclude authorship.

*The mystagogical syllabus*

If the manuscripts do not help, it may be more profitable to turn to the contents of *MC* and look for any evidence which might link the two. Cross highlighted 'a number of cross-references between the two series of *Catecheses* which point to common authorship'.[7] His case is based primarily upon reference to post-baptismal catechesis in *Cats* 18.33, and to pre-baptismal catechesis in *MC* 1.9. *Cat.* 18.33 announces the instruction that will occur in Easter Week: Cyril gives the candidates the time and place of the post-baptismal catechesis – in the Anastasis, every day of Easter week; and the style and content of the lectures. They will hear six lectures:

1  concerning that happening before on 'the things done just before baptism';
2  the baptism itself;
3  that which occurred after baptism: sharing in the name of Christ and receiving 'the seal of the fellowship of the Holy Spirit';
4  on the 'the mysteries at the Altar';
5  on approaching and receiving them; and
6  how you must behave yourselves worthily.

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[5]  Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus* 112 (dated *c*. 392).
[6]  Swaans, 'À Propos des Catéchèses Mystagogiques': 41.
[7]  Cross, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, p. xxxviii.

Cross acknowledged that *Cat.* 18.33 indicates six lectures whereas *MC* has only five, but found the discrepancy not insurmountable: 'It is true that there are five lectures, not six; but even if we are unwilling to grant that one has been lost, the fact that there was not a lecture *every* day … cannot be considered a serious objection'.[8] Were there originally six lectures and one has been lost?[9] Or, was the moral instruction condensed into the last words of *MC* 5?[10]

There is an additional notice of instruction on the baptismal rite at *Cat.* 18.32 which suggested to Yarnold that *Cat.* 18.32 and 18.33 witness to the evolution of the Jerusalem baptismal rite: the former reflecting a time when there was no post-baptismal mystagogy and no post-immersion anointing, and the latter, when these had been adopted.[11] He concludes:

> C[ats] (apart from 18.33) can hardly have been followed by mystagogical instructions based on the same lectionary as the extant M[C] and AE, for the reading in that lectionary for the third address is 1 John 2.20–27, 'you have been anointed (*chrisma echete*) by the Holy One'. Consequently, since the lectionary seems to have been very stable, it is likely that at the time of C there was no post-baptismal mystagogic catechesis at all. When the mystagogy was introduced, 18.33 was inserted into C, though at some stage the whole of C had to be revised to take account of the new rites. This revised C has not survived.[12]

This is highly speculative. If Cyril wrote *Cats* in the 350s and *MC* in 380s, as Yarnold proposed, might he not have found time to make a revision of *Cats* and, had such a revision ever been made, might it not be detected in textual variations? It could indeed be argued that *Cat* 18.33 is a later insertion into the text, but might it equally have been by a copyist who, believing *Cats* and *MC* to be by the same author, inserted 18.33 so that it reflected the content of *MC*?

A more convincing explanation for the discrepancy in the number of mystagogical lectures is the disruption to the course of instruction because of the increase of liturgical ceremonies in Easter Week which took the clergy and congregation elsewhere in the city.[13] The principal sources for the liturgical calendar of the late fourth and early fifth centuries are the three recensions of the Jerusalem lectionary preserved in armenian: these are identified as *Jerusalem 121* (*AJ*), *Paris 44* (*AP*) and *Erevan 985* (*AE*).[14] In charting the relationship between them Renoux was

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[8] Ibid., p. xxxviii.

[9] See F. Probst, *Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts und deren Reform* (Munster, 1893), p. 82 in Swaans, 'À Propos des Catéchèses Mystagogiques': 16.

[10] See A. Heisenberg, *Die Grabeskirche in Jerusalem* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 79 n. 1, in Swaans, 'À Propos des Catéchèses Mystagogiques': 16.

[11] Yarnold, 'Authorship': 160.

[12] Ibid.: 160–1.

[13] Yarnold would seem to agree: 'The variation in the number of post-baptismal addresses, being due apparently to the varying number of assemblies held in Easter week in churches at some distance from the Anastasis, seems to offer a means of setting the various collections or descriptions of mystagogical sermons in chronological order, on the assumption that the number of stational assemblies increased, while the number of mystagogical sermons decreased accordingly' (Ibid.: 154–5).

[14] See A. Renoux, A., *Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121, II* (PO, 36. 1971), pp. 155–160.

able to show that they testify to an evolution of the hagiopolite calendar, which is particularly evident in the provisions for mystagogy in Easter Week. In *AE*, there are lections for five mystagogical lectures and these correspond to those preceding each lecture in *MC*. *AE* differs from *AJ* and *AP* in providing a lection for mystagogy for the Tuesday in Easter Week, which in the latter has been displaced by the feast of St Stephen,[15] introduced following the discovery of the relics of the Protomartyr in 415. The absence, too, in *AE* of the commemoration of Bishop John of Jerusalem (+417) also serves to provide a *terminus ad quem* for *AE*, and *terminus ad quo* for *AP* and *AJ*, of 415.[16] We would suggest that the accord between *MC* and *AE* gives us a clear indication of the period in which *MC* was composed and this corresponds with the episcopate of John, 387–417.

All the sources for Jerusalem indicate that the mystagogical programme did change in the fourth and fifth centuries, but the process of change can only be resolved by placing the sources in chronological order. *Cat.* 18.33 (*c*. 351) has six lectures; *It.Eg.* 47.1 says there was 'daily' instruction, that is about seven;[17] *AE* has five; *AJ* and *AP* have four. *MC* with only five lectures could logically be placed between *It.Eg.* and *AE*, or at least coterminous with *AE*. Yarnold, however, re-interpreted Egeria's statement about 'daily' lectures to mean 'a loose way of saying "every day when there is an assembly in the main basilica you proceed to the Anastasis for mystagogy"'.[18] Yarnold wished to take into account the stational liturgies on the Wednesday and Friday in Easter Week when the congregation gather at Eleona and Sion respectively (*It.Eg.* 39.2) which would mean that there were only five and not daily mystagogical lectures.[19] But Egeria records other stational liturgies in Easter Week: *every* day the congregation met at Eleona and the Imbomon, and on the Sunday of the octave they go to the Eleona, to the Imbomon, back to the Anastasis, to 'At the Cross' and then to Sion (*It.Eg.* 40.1–2). If we accepted Yarnold's interpretation, then for these five lectures to take place in Easter week one would have to be on the Sunday of the octave and as this Sunday is even more itinerant than other days in the week, an opportunity for such instruction would be hard to find.

Yarnold also noted that the lections for *MC* are appropriate for the content of *MC* 1 to 4, but 1 Peter 2:1f before *MC* 5 does not suit a lecture on the eucharistic liturgy, although it would suit one on morality. He attempted to harmonize *Cat.* 18.33 and the extant *MC*, by proposing that

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[15] Ibid., p. 329. Renoux (*Jérusalem 121, II*, p. 169) finds no evidence for Swaans' assertion ('À Propos des Catéchèses Mystagogiques' 33) that these lections are a later addition to the text.

[16] Ibid., p. 169.

[17] *It.Eg.* 47.1 reads, 'Then Easter comes, and during the eight days from Easter Day to the eighth day, after the dismissal has taken place in the church and they have come with singing into the Anastasis, it does not take long to say the prayer and bless the faithful; then the bishop stands leaning against the railing in the cave of the Anastasis, and interprets all that takes place in Baptism.' in John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (3rd edn. Warminster, 1999), p. 163.

[18] Yarnold, 'Authorship': 155.

[19] Ibid.: 156.

It seems likely that *Cat* 18.33 envisages this five-fold division with the same readings as are indicated in M; but that at the time of M the moral instruction was squeezed into a few lines in order to make way for a second instruction on the Eucharist even though the moral text from 1 Pet. 2 was retained.[20]

At this stage Yarnold introduced Egeria's 'confused memory of the days on which the Easter week ceremonies were performed', allowing him to posit that 'the number of 5 mystagogical addresses was constant for C 18.33, M, Egeria and AE'.[21] If we wish to follow Yarnold's argument, we are obliged to accept a number of speculations: Egeria did not mean 'daily', she is 'confused', there was another version of *Cats*, *Cat.* 18.33 is a later insertion. Accumulatively, these are beyond the limits of inference.

The reduction in the number of lectures does not require a re-reading of *Cat* 18.33 if one allows it to speak for the mid-fourth century and *MC* to speak for the end. It might be that 1 Peter 2:1f was the lection for a sixth mystagogical lecture, but when there was room for only five the lection of the last lecture was read at the head of what had been the fifth. This indicates that as the Jerusalem paschal liturgy evolved, mystagogy was displaced by stational liturgy. Renoux, in an earlier article,[22] showed that the *AJ* and *AP* make no provision for a mystagogical lecture on the days when the stational liturgy was not at the Holy Sepulchre complex; *Cat.* 18.33, *It.Eg.* 47.1 and *AJ/AE* LII*ter* also make it clear that the lectures were only given in the Anastasis.[23] It does seem possible to place *MC* within an evolving syllabus: *Cat.* 18.33 suggests six lectures; Egeria suggests 'daily', six or seven; *MC* has five; *AE* has five, and *AP/AJ* only four.

*The theology of Cyril and John*

Cyril and John both participated in theological controversies during their lives and it might reasonably be expected that some indication of their positions be discernible in the works attributed to them. Cyril was reconciled to the Nicene position sometime before 381, and although he had been suspected of holding Arian views, he found himself in conflict with Arian supporters in Palestine. John was condemned by Jerome for his Origenist views. We will attempt here to assess the theologies of Cyril and John and look for evidence of these in *MC*.

Yarnold suggested that 'in matter of style and spirit there is a continuity between C and M, yet at the same time a development of thought such as would be expected over several decades of a man's life'.[24] Cyril's precise theological position is difficult

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.: 157. This is a point where Yarnold's assessment of the sources becomes confused. In his analysis of *Cat.* 18.33, he identifies five topics (153), but then from Cyril's words, 'every day on the following week beginning with the Monday' he suggests there were 6 or 7 (153); then in his tabulation he suggests 'about 7' (154) and finally concludes that there were five (157).

[22] A. Renoux, 'Les Catéchèses Mystagogiques dans L'Organisation Liturgique Hiérosolymitaine du IVe et du Ve Siècle', *Le Muséon*, 78 (1965): 356.

[23] See Renoux, *Jérusalem 121, II*, p. 327.

[24] Yarnold, 'Authorship': 150.

to discern from the accounts of contemporaries. Jerome in his *Chronicle* (before 381) implies that Cyril's appointment as bishop was part of an Arian conspiracy;[25] however, he does not mention this in *De Viris Illustribus* (*c*. 392).[26] Epiphanius of Salamis in *Panarion* (375–78), a catalogue of anti-Nicene heresies, states that Acacius (bishop of Caesarea and an overt Arian) and Cyril were opposed to each other, but describes Cyril as an Arian even though he further says that '… Cyril was in with Basil of Galate, Anianus, the newly consecrated bishop of Antioch and George of Laodicea' (73.27,8),[27] a group described as 'semi-Arian' or *homoiousion*. In this work, however, Epiphanius indiscriminately calls all opponents of Nicaea 'Arians'. Cyril's dispute with Acacius *may* have had a theological element, but it probably had more to do with episcopal jurisdiction in Palestine than theology. Sozomen suggests that Cyril wanted to establish the precedence of Jerusalem as an apostolic see against the traditional rights of Caesarea.[28] Epiphanius would seem to concur, listing Cyril's opponents as the Palestinian bishops of Caesarea, Tyre, Eleutheropolis and Scythopolis (*Panarion* 73.23,4),[29] whereas the party to which Cyril belonged did not include any Palestinians. Further, the accusations against Cyril are unclear: was he deposed for his theology; for impropriety[30]; for invalid

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[25]  'Maximus … died, this year. Thereafter the succession was Arian: first, Cyril, replaced by Eutychius; then Cyril returned, and was next replaced by Irenaeus; Cyril reigned again for a third time, and was replaced by Hilary, afterwards returning for a fourth and last period. This Cyril was ordained presbyter by Maximus. After the death of Maximus, Acacius, bishop of Caesarea, with other Arian bishops, promised Cyril the bishopric if he would repudiate his ordination at the hands of Maximus. So he ministered as a deacon in the church, and for this impiety was rewarded with the see. Maximus, on his deathbed, had made Heraclius his successor, and him Cyril cajoled into reverting to the rank of presbyter from that of bishop.' Jerome, *Chronicle* in W. Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa* (Library of Christian Classics, vol. 4. London, 1955), p. 21.

[26]  'Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, many times excommunicated from his church but finally reinstated under the emperor Theodosius, held the episcopacy uninterruptedly for eight years. His *Catecheses*, which he composed in his youth, are still extant.' Jerome. *De Viris Illustribus* 112 (Thomas P. Halton, *Saint Jerome, On Illustrious Men* [FoC, vol. 100. Washington, 1999], p. 146).

[27]  F. Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 36. Leiden, 1994), p. 461.

[28]  'When Cyril was first installed in the bishopric of Jerusalem, he had a dispute with Acacius, bishop of Caesarea, concerning his rights as a Metropolitan, which he claimed on the ground of his bishopric being an apostolic see. The dispute excited feelings of enmity between the two bishops and they mutually accused each other of unsoundness concerning the Godhead. In fact they had both been suspected previously; the one, that is Acacius, of favouring the heresy of Arius; and the other of siding with those who maintain that the Son is like unto the Father.' Sozomen, *EH* 4.25 in C.D. Hartranft, *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen* (NPNF 2nd series, vol. 2. repr. Edinburgh, 1997), p. 321.

[29]  Sozomen agreed. *EH* 4.25 continues: Acacius 'finding himself supported by the bishops of the province, who were of the same sentiments as himself, contrived to depose Cyril …'.

[30]  At the Council of Constantinople in 360, he was accused of selling a robe given to the church by Constantine (Theodoret, *EH* 2.23) but Sozomen records that a donor recognized cloth he had given in the costume of an actress (Sozomen, *EH* 4.25).

consecration[31]? That contemporaries and near-contemporaries were unsure about the exact reasons hints at personal vendetta rather than theological dispute.

In none of the accounts of the councils is Cyril listed with the Arian party and given the animosity between him and Acacius that would have been unlikely. He is, however, named as a leader of the 'Semi-Arian' or *homoiousion* party at the Council of Seleucia (359),[32] but by Constantinople (381) the *homoiousion* party had been reconciled to the *homoousion* party and Cyril is listed as a leader of the latter along with Timothy of Alexandria.[33] There his orthodoxy was publicly proclaimed in the Canons of the Council of Constantinople (381).[34] If Cyril changed his position might that not be in evidence in the 'evolution of his thought' (so Yarnold) between *Cats* and *MC*? If Yarnold is right, *Cats* should contain evidence of the *homoiousion* position, and *MC* should contain evidence of the *homoousion* as well as a more advanced theology of the Holy Spirit following Constantinople, 381. Unfortunately for us such an evolution of thought is not apparent in either *Cats* or *MC*.

Epiphanius of Salamis and Jerome condemned John for following Origen, the 'spiritual father of Arius' (Jerome, *Letter* 51.3). The bitterness of the dispute between Jerome and John, which spiralled out of control through personality clashes, has been discussed by J.N.D. Kelly.[35] In 393, at the feast of the Dedication at the Holy Sepulchre, Epiphanius of Salamis preached a sermon which was ostensibly an attack on Origen but in reality was a thinly disguised one on John; John responded later the same day with a sermon against Epiphanius. Open hostilities broke out the following year when Epiphanius ordained a priest to serve at Bethlehem, which was within John's see (Jerome, *Against John* 11), here again matters of jurisdiction cloud the theological issues. In 394, Epiphanius wrote to the monasteries in Palestine branding John a heretic, the letter was translated into Latin by Jerome, with some embellishments of his own, and sent to Rome.[36] John's *Apology* was sent to Rome in 396 following an attempt at conciliation; the substance of this is incorporated into Jerome's *Against John of Jerusalem* (397).[37]

Jerome's particular complaint is that John refused to answer specific points in Epiphanius' letter concerning the relationship between members of the Trinity and

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[31]  Jerome, *Chronicle*; Socrates, *EH* 2.38.

[32]  Socrates, *EH* 2.39–40; Sozomen, *EH* 4.22–3; Theodoret, *EH* 2.26–7.

[33]  Sozomen, *EH* 7.7.

[34]  'Of the Church at Jerusalem, the mother of all churches, we make known that the right reverend and most religious Cyril is bishop, who was some time ago canonically ordained by the bishop of the province, and has in several places fought a good fight against the Arians.' Theodoret, *EH* 5.9 in B. Jackson, *Theodoret, Jerome, Gennadius, Rufinus: Historical Writings* (NPNF 2nd series, vol. 3. repr. Edinburgh, 1989), p. 138.

[35]  J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome, His Life, Writings and Controversies* (London, 1975), pp. 198–209.

[36]  Jerome, *Letter* 51, in W.H. Freemantle, *et al*, *The Principal Works of Jerome* (NPNF 2nd series, vol. 6. repr. Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 83–9.

[37]  The editors say in their introduction, 'The letter is, throughout, violent and contemptuous in its tone, with an arrogant assumption, that the writer is in possession of the whole truth on the difficult subject on which he writes, and that he has a right to demand from his bishop a confession of faith on each point on which he chooses to catechise him.' (NPNF 2nd series, vol. 6, p. 425).

the orders of creation and thereby refute Origen. Jerome was evidently dissatisfied with John's orthodox response:

> Take the first blasphemy – that the Son cannot see the Father, nor the Holy Spirit the Son. By what weapons of yours has it been pierced?; John had answered, 'We believe that the Holy and Adorable Trinity are of the same substance; that they are co-eternal, and of the same glory and Godhead, and we anathematize those who say that there is any greatness, smallness, inequality, or aught that is visible in the Godhead of the Trinity. But as we say the Father is incorporeal, invisible, and eternal; so we say the Son and Holy Spirit are incorporeal, invisible, and eternal'. (*Against John* 8)[38]

Jerome accepts that John is not and has never been an Arian,[39] but his frustration that John refuses to allow himself to be condemned of holding the no less acceptable ideas of Origen in his reply, seems to be central to the theological points in this letter.

John's reputation has been established by the polemical tone of the surviving correspondence filtered through the personal antagonism of Jerome. The McCarthyism with which the aged Epiphanius pursued 'Origenists under the bed', led those not actively condemning Origen to be accused of heresy by their silence. John, it seemed, refused to be drawn into the debate, giving orthodox responses to the points raised by Epiphanius, even if not answering them directly. Reconciliation of the dispute was made more unlikely because of the infringement of the jurisdiction of the Jerusalem see at a time when the privileges and prestige of that see were growing.

In general, scholars have followed Jerome's opinion of John, and thus sought or discounted traces of 'Origenism' in *MC*. Yarnold, having stated that 'John was a notorious Origenist', added that 'M is totally free from the obscurities of such undisciplined flights of the imagination'[40] such as are to be found in John's *Homily On the Church*. Bihain, however, believed there to be Origenism in the treatment of the Lord's Prayer in *MC* 5 and in the omission of Christological praise and invocation, which is present in Cyril's *Cats*, *Letter to Constantine* and *Homily on the Paralytic*; he therefore concluded that *MC* are by John.[41] Kretschmar found similarities between the sanctus in *MC* 5.6 and Origen's interpretation of Isaiah 6;[42]

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[38] Ibid., p. 428.

[39] 'We make you a present of the fact that you are not an Arian; nay, even more, that you never have been. We allow that in the explanation of the first section no suspicion rests upon you, and that all that you said was frank and free from error. We speak to you with equal frankness. Did our father in God, Epiphanius, accuse you of being an Arian? Did he fasten upon you the heresy of Eunomius, the Godless, or that of Aerius? The point of the whole letter is that you follow the erroneous doctrines of Origen, and are associated with others in this heresy.' Jerome, *To Pamachius Against John of Jerusalem* 9 (Ibid., p. 429).

[40] Yarnold, 'Authorship': 147.

[41] E. Bihain, 'Une vie arménienne de Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem', *Le Muséon*, 76 (1963): 340 n. 73.

[42] G. Kretschmar, 'Die frühe Geschichte der Jerusalemer Liturgie', *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, 2 (1956): 26.

and Stephenson thought the doxology at the end of *MC* 1 was possibly Origenist.[43] If these indicators of a theological persuasion in *MC* are indicators of Origenism and can be used to determine authorship, an attribution to John will depend upon whether he was indeed an Origenist. We are reluctant to accept such a verdict, given that it is based upon the word of two particularly disaffected churchmen and that John does not condemn himself by his own words. Indeed far from being a naïve theologian, as Jerome would have it (*Against John* 10), John's very reluctance to enter the debate may demonstrate his theological astuteness; he understood only too well the traps laid for him by his opponents, and who could blame them for their anger when he failed to fall into them.

If, then, *MC* does not clearly exhibit theological positions which could be attributed to either Cyril or John, it is necessary to look for theological differences and similarities between *Cats* and *MC*; nowhere are these more apparent than in the treatment of baptism. Pierre-Thomas Camelot's investigation of the sacramental theology of *Cats* and *MC* in relation to baptism, concluded that

> The theology of [*MC*] is clearly more developed [than *Cats*]: this could certainly be explained by the different goal and topic … But above all, it contains … a completely new element, which is truly at the heart of the matter, and which the former seems to completely ignore: a theology of the sacrament, as efficacious sign of the saving presence of Christ, and actual participation in the death and resurrection.[44]

Comparing *Cat.* 3 with *MC* 2, he found in the former a sacramental theology based on 'parallélisme' between the physical and spiritual aspects of the rite, whereby the physical washing is not precisely stated to be the *sign* by which the spiritual cleansing is achieved: the two occur coterminously, but the relationship between them is nowhere expressed.[45] In *MC* 2, however, he noted a completely new vocabulary: *symbolon*, *eik n*, *mim sis*, *antitypon*, *homoi ma*.[46] By descending into the water, the candidate *participates* in Christ's death and resurrection by imitation: 'Through this image and by it, the believer participates in the prototype, and by that, in the natural and historical reality whose fruits are now communicated.'[47] The candidates experience for themselves the salvation achieved by Christ's death and resurrection.

*Cats* and *MC* also differ in their understanding of how the water is effective. Camelot noted that in *Cat.* 3, the water receives the power (*dynamis*) of sanctification because of Christ's descent into the Jordan and by a Trinitarian epiclesis, which he believes Cyril understood as 'a sort of real presence of the Spirit in the baptismal

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[43]  A.A. Stephenson and L.P. Macauley, *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem* (2 vols. FoC, vols 61 and 64, Washington, 1969–70) vol. 64, p. 159 n. 24.

[44]  Pierre-Thomas Camelot, 'Note sur la Théologie Baptismale des Catéchèses Attribuées à Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem', in Patrick Granfield and Josef A. Jungmann (eds) *Kyriakon, Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, (2 vols, Munster, 1970), vol. 2, p. 729.

[45]  Ibid., p. 725. cf *Cat.* 3.4.

[46]  Ibid., p. 727. cf *MC* 2.4–7.

[47]  Ibid., p. 728.

water':[48] in *MC* 2.4, baptism is effective not by water but by the imitation of Christ's death and resurrection. Again *Cat.* 3.11 emphasizes the incarnation which enables humanity to participate in Christ's divinity; *MC* 2.5, by contrast, emphasizes participation in Christ's passion. Camelot understood the manner of participation in Christ to be a critical difference between *Cats* and *MC*: in *MC* the candidate is buried in the water and comes out alive, in type, by imitation, in likeness of Christ, and by that he participates in Christ's death and resurrection and in the reality of its benefits.[49] In this short and precise study, Camelot drew out the very significant differences between *Cats* and *MC* concerning the means by which baptism is effective in terms of God's actions towards humanity[50] and the candidates' appropriation of these.[51] His contribution to the question of the authorship of *MC* is that, 'at least they seem to confirm the hypothesis that they would have been delivered at a later period than Cyril's lifetime'.[52]

Can the distinctions between *Cats* and *MC* which Camelot exposed be explained by 'a development of thought such as would be expected over several decades of a man's life'?[53] Yarnold's exploration of the sacramental theology of both noted the similarities: they both make a distinction between 'figure and reality'; they both expound the 'double sacramental effect' on body and soul; they both have 'epiklesis theology'; they both connect Christian baptism to Christ's in the Jordan.[54] There are though some significant differences: in *Cats* 'figure and reality' refer to Old Testament 'types' and Christ, whereas in *MC* the type is Christ, the 'anti-type' the candidates' experience; as Camelot has shown, the 'double sacramental effect' in *Cats* is produced by parallelism, whereas in *MC* it is by imitation; the epiklesis theology of *MC* is much more explicit; and, although in *MC* there is reference to the Jordan event, the primary Christological model is the death and resurrection of Christ.

Cyril's reputation was preserved in Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* as author of (unspecified) catechetical lectures, and by the Council of Constantinople (381) as someone who had battled against Arians. His contemporaries did not know him as a theologian and given the innovative sacramental theology of *MC* it seems increasingly unlikely that *MC* are the product of a lifetime's theological reflection, but rather that of a different mind.

*Literary style*

Alexis Doval has followed and extended the arguments of the pro-Cyrilline camp, particularly those of Yarnold, and introduced to the issue a computer generated

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[48] Ibid., p. 725. cf *Cat.* 3.3.

[49] Ibid., p. 728.

[50] In *Cats*, baptism in effective because of Christ's baptism in the Jordan and because of the epiklesis over the font, whereas in MC, it is effective because Christ rose from the dead.

[51] Again in *Cats*, Christ by his incarnation participates in humanity, but in *MC*, we through baptism participate in the divine life through imitation of Christ's passion.

[52] Camelot, 'Note sur la Théologie Baptismale', p. 729.

[53] Yarnold, 'Authorship': 150.

[54] Ibid.: 150–1.

statistical analysis of the literary style of *MC*.[55] Doval's premise is that Cyril did indeed compose *MC*, and his presentation of the evidence begins with more traditional methods of theological and textual analysis. It must be noted that Doval is not concerned to weigh up the case for Cyril or John, but to prove beyond doubt that Cyril is the author and this affects the discussion of even indeterminate evidence. The innovative contribution is a stylometric analysis, which can be used to monitor the grammatical and syntactical preferences of a particular author: by comparing such results as are produced with results from undisputed texts, it is possible to assign authorship. Despite acknowledging that *MC* can only be compared to known works by Cyril and not to any by John, there being no extant Greek text of the latter's works, Doval still maintained that if the results for *MC* were closer to those for *Cats* than to texts by the other selected authors (Gregory of Nyssa, Basil of Caesarea, Diodorus of Tarsus, Ignatius of Antioch, John Chrysostom), this would 'give some weight' to arguments for Cyrilline authorship.[56] This method might also provide evidence of changes in an author's style in a work composed over the lifetime of the author. He is further indebted to Yarnold for the hypothesis that *MC* were composed towards the end of Cyril's life and this provides him with an explanation for 'some degree of dissimilarity' between *Cats* and *MC*.[57] We might naturally expect two texts concerned with baptism from the same church in the same city composed within a period of possibly 50 years to be closer to each other than the other texts in the study, which seem to be merely red herrings. Doval finds the results of this analysis in Cyril's favour or at least 'no result counts against Cyrilline authorship',[58] but equally, since no text by John is available, we can just as easily conclude that nothing tells against Johannine authorship.

*Summary conclusion: a working hypothesis*

On the basis of our discussion above and for the purposes of the analysis in chapters 4, 5 and 6, it is necessary to make some preliminary conclusions about the date (or period) of composition of *MC*, from which we can infer the authorship later after our assessment of the liturgical evidence. We find that:

- the manuscript evidence does not provide convincing evidence for either Cyrilline or Johannine authorship;
- the number and syllabus of *MC* would seem to indicate the final form was reached before the *terminus ad quem* of *AE*, but after *It.Eg*;
- there is no evidence for the theological positions attributed to Cyril and John;
- the distinctive sacramental theology of *MC* cannot be convincingly ascribed to Cyril's evolving thought processes and it would appear to demonstrate later composition by a different author.

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[55] Alexis Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue: The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses* (Washington, 2001), chapter 9.

[56] Ibid., p. 231.

[57] Ibid., p. 232.

[58] Ibid., p. 238.

As a working hypothesis we will accept the 380s as the earliest possible date of composition of *MC*, and 415 as the latest.

## The *Procatechesis* and the *Catechetical Lectures*

The attribution of *Procat.* and *Cats* to Cyril has not been doubted and both are presumed to date from early in his episcopate; the relationship between them, though, is more difficult to ascertain. The English editions of Church, Gifford, Telfer and Stephenson, and the French of Bouvet and Véricel, place *Procat.* before *Cat.* 1, as if it had been preached as an introduction to the 24 lectures of *Cats* and *MC*;[59] Cross, uniquely, placed *Procat.* before *MC*, for which there is no basis in the manuscripts.[60] There is no internal or external evidence which would indicate whether it was from the same year as *Cats* and was preached as an introduction to them. *Procat.* encourages the candidates to take seriously the Lenten preparation for baptism, but despite references to the significance of baptism, there is no information about the rite.

The attribution of *Cats* to Cyril is unchallenged: considerable internal evidence permits us to locate the series in Jerusalem in the mid-fourth century and his name consistently appears at the head of the manuscripts. It is likely that these lectures were delivered during the first years of his episcopate, rather than under the authority of his predecessor, but this is dependent on dating *Cats* and on resolving the date of Cyril's accession. Attempts to date *Cats* suffer from increasingly complex theories concerning *Cat* 14 and the penultimate Monday in Lent;[61] however, all theories rest on some or all of the following internal and external evidence:

Internal
a   In 6.20, Cyril says that the Manichean heresy began 70 years before (*c*. 277).
b   In 14.10, he tells us that the month of Xanthicus had just begun.
c   In 14.14, he mentions the *emperors* who had adorned the holy places, possibly a reference to the joint rule of Constans (d. 350) and Constantius.
d   14.20 implies this lecture is being delivered on a Monday.
e   In 15.6, he refers to recent wars between the Romans and the Persians, which had ended with the defeat of Constantius at Singara, 348.
f   In 15.7, Cyril refers to divisions within the church hierarchy. Touttée understood this as a reference to the Synod of Sardica which he erroneously dated to 347 (actually *c*. 343),[62] but as Gifford pointed out, 'Cyril's description may unhappily be applied to the state of the church at almost any time from the Council of

[59]   R. Church, *The Catechetical Lectures of S Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem* (Library of the Fathers, vol. 2. Oxford, 1838). J. Bouvet, *Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem. Catéchèses* (Namur, 1962). M. Véricel, *Cyrille de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1957).

[60]   Cross, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, pp. 1–11; 40–51.

[61]   See, for example, Sebastià Janeras, 'À propos de la Catéchèse XVIᵉ de Cyrille de Jérusalem', *Ecclesia Orans*, 3 (1986): 312f.

[62]   Antonii Augustini Touttee, *Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, Petrus II, Timotheus Alexandrini, Alii* (PG 33), p. 155.

Tyre (335) … until long after any date which can possibly be assigned to Cyril's lectures'.[63]

g   In 18.17, he mentions that his listeners will have been wearied by a fast and vigil.

External

i   Jerome's knowledge of catechetical lectures composed in Cyril's youth (*De Viris Illustribus* 112 ).

ii   Egeria's assertions that Lent lasted 8 weeks and that there were no lectures in Holy Week, or on Saturdays and Sundays (*It.Eg.* 27.1; 46.5).

iii   Years when Cyril was in exile can be excluded, leaving the following periods when he functioned as bishop of Jerusalem: 348/9–57, 361–66, and 378–86.

The external indicators, apart from the last, are deceptive. Jerome's statement, made *c*. 392, is vague about the type and content of these lectures, but he does at least inform us that they do not come from late in his episcopacy.[64] Egeria's visit to Jerusalem was during this latter part of Cyril's episcopacy and, as I have shown elsewhere, if she did accurately record the Lenten catechetical syllabus, her version does not correspond to *Cats*.[65]

   The internal evidence provides a more fruitful basis for discussion and attempts to date *Cats* have relied on different combinations of the indicators listed above. Gifford, using a, c and e, decided upon 348;[66] Telfer additionally taking account of b and ii concluded 350.[67] Piédagnel and Cross, following Gifford and Telfer, wavered between 347 and 350 and Stephenson concluded 'probably 349'.[68] Janeras relied heavily upon b and by analyzing 14.10 in relation to the dates of Easter in the mid-fourth century produces 350.[69] Doval refined Janeras' by ignoring Egeria's assertions about Holy Week catechizing and found that 351 fitted the internal evidence more accurately.[70] The most important indicators seem to be those in *Cat.* 14 which provide for a *terminus ante quem* of 350 and clues from which to establish the date of Easter in the first year of delivery. The contributions of Janeras and Doval are useful here, even though the former honoured Egeria's assertion that there were no lectures in Holy Week and the latter ignored it. Our distribution of *Cats* over the course of Lent enabled us to place *Cats* 10 and 14 after specific Sundays and this required there to have been catechesis in Holy Week. The most convincing case for the date of *Cats* is 351 which Doval has shown.

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[63]   Gifford, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, p. xliii.

[64]   Stephenson remarked that Jerome's comment 'perhaps implied (his) belief that the lectures had not been adequately revised' (*Works of Saint Cyril*, FoC vol. 61, p. 2).

[65]   Juliette Day, 'Lent and the Catechetical Program in Mid-Fourth Century Jerusalem', *SL*, 35 (2005): 129–147.

[66]   Gifford, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, p. xliv.

[67]   Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, p. 36.

[68]   Piédagnel, *Cyrille de Jérusalem*, p. 14; Cross, p. xxvii; Stephenson, *Works of Saint Cyril*, FoC vol. 61, p. 1.

[69]   Janeras, 'la Catéchèse XVIe de Cyrille de Jérusalem': 316.

[70]   Alexis Doval, 'The Date of Cyril of Jerusalem's Catecheses', *JTS*, 48 (1997): 130.

Although we are able to deduce a date for the first year of delivery, Stephenson found sufficient internal evidence to propose that 'the extensive variations in the manuscripts … suggest stratification'.[71] He noted the two different recensions of *Cat.* 2; the different seasons implied in *Cats* 18 (Winter) and 14 (Spring); and 'the advanced theology of the Holy Spirit … (which) suggests a date considerably later than 350.[72] Whatever the value of the stenographers' appendix to *Cat.* 18, it does say that 'many other catecheses were delivered each year before and after baptism' and it is highly likely that the course was repeated in successive years; John would appear to know of a similar syllabus at the end of the century[73] and the fifth century *AL* preserves the same lections (*AJ*, *AP*, *AE* 17).

## The *Itinerarium Egeriae* (*It.Eg.*)

*It.Eg.* describes the enrolment, catechetical process (45–7) and Easter baptism (38) at Jerusalem and gives a second-hand account of Easter baptism at Aenon, near Scythopolis (15.5); this information has been considered an invaluable supplement to the other Jerusalem sources. It has been customary to use *It.Eg.* to fill in the gaps of these other accounts, regardless of questions of date and attribution of the Jerusalem sources: Hélène Pétré wrote, 'The information provided by Éthérie on the instruction of the new christians happily complements the Catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem delivered in the same city in 348';[74] alternatively, Maraval claims that, '… the Armenian Lectionary gives the information which Egeria has omitted …'.[75] In this study we will use *It.Eg.* as an independent witness to the hagiopolite baptismal practices but placing Egeria within this liturgical development requires an assessment and resolution of the date of the text or at least of her sojourn in Palestine. It also requires a careful assessment of the type of information she provides, and of how it corroborates or confounds evidence from the other sources.

In summary, two periods of composition and/or travel have been proposed: the 380s and 410s and inevitably some have proposed the turn of the century. In the first camp belong Gamurrini (381–88), Baumstark (382–6) and Devos (381–4).[76] These dates are based on identifying the *confessores* whom she met as the bishops Eulogios, 379–387, and Protogenes, first mentioned at the Council of Constantinople, 381

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[71] Stephenson, *Works of Saint Cyril*, (FoC vol. 61), p. 1.

[72] Ibid., p. 2.

[73] 'Our custom is, for the space of 40 days, to deliver public lectures to those who are to be baptized on the doctrine of the Holy and Adorable Trinity.' Jerome, *Against John* 13 (NPNF 2nd series, vol. 6, p. 431).

[74] Hélène Pétré, *Éthérie: Journal de Voyage* (SChr 21. Paris, 1948), p. 19. She dates *It.Eg.* to 50 years later.

[75] P. Maraval, *Egérie: Journal de Voyage* (SChr 296. Paris, 1982), p. 290, n. 1. He dates *It.Eg.* to the 380s, and *AL* to the mid-fifth century.

[76] J.F. Gamurrini, *S. Hilarii tractatus de Mysteriis et hymni et S. Silviae Aquitanae peregrinatio ad loca sancta, quae inedita ex codice Arretino deprompsit* (Rome, 1887); Anton Baumstark, 'Der Alter der *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*', *Oriens Christianus*, 1 (1911): 52; Paul Devos, 'La date du voyage d'Égérie', *AB*, 85 (1968): 178.

(*It.Eg.* 19.5; 20.2), and on calculating her journeys in the Eastern empire in relation to the dates of Easter. Devos was thus able to show that Egeria celebrated Easter in Jerusalem between 381 and 384, finally departing a day or two after Easter in 384. Devos has established the consensus and his dates are followed by Maraval, Hunt, Wilkinson and Talley.[77]

Gingras, following Lambert and Dekkers, dated the journey to the first quarter of the fifth century on the basis of the following evidence: Egeria quotes from Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon*, published after 390; in *It.Eg.* 19.2, she refers to the relics and basilica of St Thomas, the former transferred in 394; Egeria says that she has copies of the correspondence between Christ and King Agbar at home (19.19), the first Latin translation of these are in Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' EH of 403; similarly the biblical quotations and paraphrases, especially of the Old Testament resemble Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Homilies* of 404.[78] Dekkers interpreted the celebration on the fortieth day after Easter at Bethlehem as the feast of the Ascension, which fell on the same date as the feast of the Dedication of the church of the Holy Nativity in Bethlehem – that could only have happened in 417 (*It.Eg.* 42).[79] Gingras concluded:

> It seems clear that Egeria's Diary was written after 394; it is very probable that she could not have written it before 404; and there is reason to believe that the work may not have been composed until 417 … The consensus of scholars is that the picture of church life which emerges best describes the ecclesiastical and liturgical milieu of the early fifth century.[80]

His assessment of the scholarly consensus fails to mention even one of those who proposed an earlier date, despite Devos having refuted most of these points in 1968. Pétré and Juan Mateos are more cautious in their dating, suggesting the end of the fourth and early fifth centuries.[81] In light of the strength of the previous two positions such a compromise seems inevitable, but if we are to make a proper assessment of the hagiopolite liturgy more precision is required and it is Devos' assessment of the internal indicators of the date which seem to be most convincing.

In his introductory notes, John Wilkinson asserts that, 'Egeria's own account of Baptism is so clear that little need be repeated here'.[82] Indeed a close examination of the text does reveal the much lauded detail of her description, but also surprising errors and omissions. She sets out to 'add something about the way they instruct

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[77] Maraval, p. 28; E.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312–460* (Oxford, 1982), p. 124; Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, p. 170; Thomas, J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York, 1986), p. 56.

[78] G.E. Gingras, *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage* (ACW, vol. 38. New York, 1970), pp. 12–15. See also, E. Lambert, 'L'*Itinerarium Egeriae* vers 414–7', *Revue Mabillon*, 26 (1938): 49–69.

[79] E. Dekkers, 'De Datum der *Peregrinatio Egeriae* en het feest van Ons Heer Hemelvaart', *Sacris Erudiri*, 1 (1948): 203.

[80] Gingras, *Egeria*, p. 15.

[81] Pétré, *Éthérie*, p. 15; Juan Mateos, 'La vigile cathédrale chez Égérie', *OCP*, 27 (1961): 281.

[82] Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, p. 57.

those who are to be baptized at Easter' (*It.Eg.* 45.1):[83] she relates the enrolment of names at the beginning of Lent, with an initial scrutiny; exorcism and catechesis; the handing over of the creed; a final scrutiny in Great Week; and the mystagogical catechesis (*It.Eg.* 45.1–47.2). Absent here is any detail about the baptismal liturgy itself. Turning to her description of the Easter vigil during which the baptisms take place, she says:

> They keep their paschal vigil like us, but there is one addition. As soon as the "infants" have been baptized and clothed, and left the font, they are led with the bishop straight to the Anastasis. The bishop goes into the railed area and after one hymn says a prayer for them. Then he returns with them to the church, where all the people are keeping the vigil in the usual way (*It.Eg.* 38.2).[84]

Here again, there is nothing about the baptismal liturgy. If we had to rely upon Egeria alone for evidence of this Jerusalem liturgy, the sum of our knowledge would be the catechetical process and a special blessing of the newly baptized; conversely, if we did not have *It.Eg.*, the only information additional to *Procat.*, *Cats* and *MC* would be this questionable blessing. Egeria is also misleading in the places where she does tell us of the initiation process: the initial scrutiny contradicts the open enrolment policy of *Procat.*; the length of Lent, the number and content of the catechetical lectures contradict *Cats*; the blessing in the Anastasis has no place in *MC*. In these ways, *It.Eg.* is a highly problematic text with regard to initiation, in a manner which may not be the case with her account of daily prayers, and of the holy sites.

Placing *It.Eg.* in its proper context within the evolving baptismal liturgy of Jerusalem is clearly quite difficult. If we rely on the internal evidence of a non-liturgical nature, and date her visit to Jerusalem to the early 380s then the unnamed bishop, who presided over the liturgies she witnessed, was indeed Cyril of Jerusalem. But the Lenten catechesis Egeria describes is not that of *Cats,* therefore we could conclude that either Cyril had changed his syllabus which is improbable as the lections correspond to those in *AL*, or that Egeria did not understand what she heard about the process which is more likely considering her remarks about translators.[85] Was the baptismal liturgy she alludes to in chapter 38 that of *MC*? The latter contains no reference to a procession to and blessing in the Anastasis immediately after leaving the baptistery; might we expect so obvious a resurrection imagery to be employed in a mystagogy based on the death and resurrection typology of Romans 6? That *MC* is silent on this may lead to two possible conclusions: that Egeria was incorrect, or that the liturgy of *MC* was not that used during her visit and is from a later date. Clearly, establishing the authorship of *MC* becomes crucial: if by John, we can conclude that *It.Eg.* 38 refers to a liturgy which will change; if by Cyril, it is likely Egeria

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[83] Ibid., p. 161.

[84] Ibid., p. 157.

[85] '… there are also people here who speak neither Greek nor Syriac, but Latin. But there is no need for them to be discouraged, since some of the brothers and sisters who speak Latin as well as Greek will explain things to them.' *It.Eg.* 47.4 (Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, p. 163).

was simply mistaken. Our hypothesis would lead us to suggest that *It.Eg.* refers to a liturgy which was evolving from that alluded to in *Cats* to that described in *MC*.

## Mark the Deacon: *The Life of Porphyrius* (*V.Porph.*)

This purports to be a biography of Porphyrius, bishop of Gaza between 397 and 420, written by his life-time companion Mark, *c*. 450. It relates Porphyrius' appointment as bishop and his attempts to rid Gaza of paganism, encountering considerable opposition in the process. There are a few accounts of the conversion of pagans which provide evidence for baptism administered by or under the authority of a bishop in provincial Palestine. Of added interest is that Porphyrius held the position of Cross Warden at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the 390s, where he is likely to have witnessed or even assisted at baptisms. The date and authenticity of *V.Porph.* has been disputed making it a problematic source for our purposes. Essentially, the problems concern anachronisms (referring to the Bishop of Caesarea as Archbishop); chronological inaccuracies (meeting John Chrysostom in Constantinople when, on the date given, he was in Ephesus); incorrect names ('Praylios', the Bishop of Jerusalem who ordained Porphyrius priest, was not consecrated until 417); the description of the Constantinopolitan court is fantastical (Eudoxia is described as a humble and faithful wife); and obvious plagiarism (the prologue is taken from Theodoret of Cyr's *History of the Monks* written *c*. 444). Such inaccuracies could not have been made by someone claiming to be an 'eyewitness', thus in addressing these issues Grégoire and Kugner proposed that the final form of the text had been subject to a much later redaction in which they were introduced and when identification of Porphyrius with Pelagianism was suppressed.[86] They concluded that although *V.Porph.* was not entirely authentic, it did retain elements which could situate the events and the core composition in the early fifth century, particularly in its account of the political situation, in its theology and, as we will show, in its liturgy.[87] A liturgical factor would be the absence of Christmas; a theological one, the lack of any hints of the doctrinal upheavals in Palestine after the council of Ephesus; in administration, the details of the civil authorities are accurate; and there is no anachronism about the title of the bishop of Jerusalem, he is not a patriarch. In addition, the confidence and persistence of paganism in Gaza is more consistent with an early fifth-century date, than a sixth-century one.

The later reworking of the text could well be demonstrated by a Georgian version published by Peeters in 1941,[88] which has significant differences from the Greek. Peeters suggested that there were two *Lives* in circulation, one in Greek, and another in Syriac from which the Georgian translation was made:[89] he dates the text to the seventh century.[90] Peeters' late date has been followed by Alan Cameron who found

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[86] Henri Grégoire and M-A. Kugner, *Marc le Diacre: Vie de Porphyre* (Paris, 1930), pp. lxxxiii–iv.

[87] Ibid., p. xxxvii and xlvi.

[88] P. Peeters, 'La vie georgienne de saint Porphyre de Gaza', *AB*, 59 (1941): 65–216.

[89] Ibid.: 69.

[90] Ibid.: 96–7.

that 'the Life of Porphyry is a work of pure fiction dating from (at earliest) the mid sixth century'.[91] T.D. Barnes also concluded that *V.Porph.* does not stand up to scrutiny, especially in details which are otherwise historically verifiable.[92]

For the purposes of this study, these historical and textual problems do have a bearing on the manner in which we interpret and use the references to conversion and baptism in *V.Porph.* If one wishes to take Grégoire and Kugner's view that the liturgical information is consistent with an early fifth-century date, then it should share characteristics with, for example, the Jerusalem rites. If authenticity is accepted, then with an early date for *MC* (380s), we might expect Porphyrius to have assisted at the liturgy described therein; but, if we place *MC* in the early fifth century, the liturgy Porphyrius took with him to Gaza might well have been its predecessor. The Georgian texts provide an additional problem as, if we follow Peeters and give *V.Porph.* a late sixth- or seventh-century date and (Eastern) Syrian provenance, then the Gazan church had retained a liturgy which resembled pre-*MC* Jerusalem and East Syrian practice throughout the Byzantine period.

## Monastic Biographies

Having hitherto assessed evidence for the cities, we turn now to rural Palestine, whose conversion was due, in principal, to the monks settling in the desert as hermits and in monasteries. The brief notices of their evangelizing activities are contained in biographies and church histories which are either near contemporary or, if of a later date, do refer to events of the fourth and early fifth centuries. The desert populations had had little or no contact with Christianity before the fourth century and 'the movement into the desert became the focal point of the Christian movement among nomads, for whom the cult as represented by urban temples and Greek liturgy held little attraction'.[93]

Jerome's *Life of Hilarion* (*V.Hil.*)[94] was written around 391[95] in Bethlehem drawing on a lost biography of Hilarion by Epiphanius of Salamis, a Palestinian whose family Hilarion had converted. Despite being resident in Bethlehem and as a prime antagonist of the Jerusalem church, Jerome often misinterprets Palestinian Christianity,[96] but, in this instance, aspects of *V.Hil.* can be corroborated by Sozomen who had known Hilarion's followers (*EH* 3, 14.21–8). Marie L. Ewald says of *V.Hil.* 'there seems to be no questioning this time, however, of his [Jerome's] historical

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[91] Alan Cameron, 'Earthquake 400', *Chiron*, 17 (1987): 355 n. 60.

[92] T.D. Barnes, 'The Baptism of Theodosius II', *SP*, 19 (1987): 8.

[93] J.S. Trimingham, *Christianity Among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times* (London and Beirut, 1979), p. 105. See *BEBP*, pp. 5–7 for a presentation of the religious and racial groups in Palestine during this period.

[94] Marie Liguori Ewald, 'Life of St. Hilarion by St. Jerome', in Roy J. Deferrari (ed.), *Early Christian Biographies* (FoC, vol. 15. Washington, 1952), pp. 245–280.

[95] Before 393 when a Greek version of *V.Hil.* was produced by Sophronius (Jerome, *De Viris Illusrtibus* 134–5).

[96] See *BEBP*, p. 10.

trustworthiness and the historicity of the person of Hilarion',[97] although Sabbah considered it 'fortement romancée'.[98]

Hilarion had been a disciple of St Anthony in Egypt and on his return to Palestine he installed himself in the desert around Maiuma. The *Life* records that he was a successful exorcist, even exorcizing a camel, resulting in great popularity in his home region. Jerome records that Hilarion converted pagans, but he was a layman and does not appear to have baptized. Around 350, Hilarion was in Elusa while the town celebrated a festival for Venus:

> When it was heard that St Hilarion was passing through (for, he had frequently healed many Saracens by snatching them away from the Devil), the men swarmed out with their wives and children to meet him and with their heads reverently bowed, cried out in Syriac: 'Barech', that is 'Bless us!' He received them graciously and humbly and besought them to worship God rather than idols. Weeping and looking up into heaven, he promised them that, if they would believe in Christ, he would come to them frequently … They did not allow him to go away until he had planned a church for them, and the priest of Venus, wreathed as he was, was marked with the sign of Christ. (*V.Hil.* 25)[99]

The story relates how Christianity came to Elusa in the fourth century and became sufficiently established for its bishop to attend the Council of Ephesus in 431. In this episode, it is the 'signing' which is of interest: was it for entry into the catechumenate or did it function as an exorcism?

Hilarion competes with Chariton as the founder of Palestinian monasticism and the anonymous *Life of Chariton* (*V.Char.*) has a less certain origin than Jerome's *V.Hil.* Garitte's opinion of *V.Char.* was rather low, '[it] is written in an extremely artificial style, which the length of the phrases and the mechanical use of "figures" produces a tiring monotony …',[100] although he saw no reason to doubt the authenticity of the traditions recorded.[101] Internal evidence dates its composition to before the Persian invasions of 614: the anonymous author having been inspired to write following the dissemination of the *Lives of the Monks of Palestine* by Cyril of Scythopolis, which would suggest a sixth-century date. Di Segni thought the author may well have been a monk in one of Chariton's foundations who was keen to establish his position as the first Palestinian monk.[102]

Chariton is described as a Confessor who suffered in the persecution of Aurelian in 270–5 (*V.Char.* 2), which is unlikely given the more verifiable indicator of his dates, the consecration of his monastery by Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem (d. 333) after 325 (*V.Char.* 13). Chariton, like Hilarion, had the power to 'cast out unclean spirits' and 'cured diseases of both kinds, of the mind as well as of the body, by

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[97] Ewald, 'Life of St. Hilarion', p. 242.

[98] G. Sabbah, *Sozomène: Histoire Ecclésiastique* (SChr 306. Paris 1983), p. 11 n. 4.

[99] Ewald, 'Life of St. Hilarion', pp. 263–4.

[100] G. Garitte, 'La Vie prémétaphrastique de S. Chariton', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 21 (1941): 8.

[101] Ibid.: 11.

[102] L. Di Segni, 'Life of Chariton', in V. Wimbush (ed.), *Ascetic Behavior in Graeco-Roman Antiquity: A Sourcebook* (Minneapolis, 1990), p. 394, following Garitte, 'La Vie prémétaphrastique': 10.

invoking the name of the Savior Christ' (*V.Char.* 20);[103] consequently, 'as time went by, an innumerable crowd of pagans and Jews were induced to receive the saving bath …; and more than that they were even drawn to enter the monastic life from what he taught them and by the example he set before their eyes' (*V.Char.* 14).[104] Those living around the sites of Chariton's three monasteries, Pharan, Douka and Tekoa (or Souka/Old Lavra) in the Judean desert, became Christians by conversion due to a miracle or exorcism, followed by some instruction and then baptism but there is no indication that Chariton himself baptized.

Cyril of Scythopolis' *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*,[105] completed around 558,[106] describes the heyday of Palestinian monasticism from 405 with the settlement of Euthymius in the Judean Desert. The main passage which concerns us is the conversion of the tribe of Aspébetus, *foederati* fleeing the Persians (*V.Euthym.* 18,10–19,10).[107] Aspébetus' son, Terebôn had dreamt that he could be healed by Euthymius, who,

> judging it preposterous to oppose visions from God, came down to them. By praying fervently and sealing Terebôn with the sign of the cross, he restored him to health. The barbarians, astounded at so total a transformation and so extraordinary a miracle, found faith in Christ; and casting themselves on the ground they all begged to receive the seal in Christ. The miracle working Euthymius, perceiving that their faith in Christ came from the soul, ordered a small font to be constructed in the corner of the cave – the one preserved even now – and after catechizing them, baptized them all in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit … He kept them with him for forty days, enlightening and strengthening them with the word of God, and then let them depart, no longer Agarenians and Ishmaelites but now descendants of Sarah and heirs of the promise, transferred through baptism from slavery to freedom. (*V.Euthym.* 20,20–21,5)[108]

When Aspébetus returned with more candidates, 'The holy elder catechized them all and received them into the lower monastery where he baptized them. After remaining with them for the whole week he then ascended with them to his own cave' (*V.Euthym.* 24,15).[109]

Unlike the other monks, Euthymius was a priest and did perform the baptisms himself before establishing the Arabs in their own church with its own hierarchy (*V.Euthym.* 24,25–25,10). When healing Terebôn, Euthymius 'seals [him] with the cross', which may well have functioned as a pre-baptismal exorcistic anointing; he ensures they are properly catechized; baptizes them with a Trinitarian formula in a font quarried for the purpose in the cave-chapel; and provides some sort of mystagogical catechesis. The later baptisms were performed in the monastery church which must have had a baptistery area built around the 'small font' in the cave as this was known

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[103] Ibid., p. 409.

[104] Ibid., p. 405.

[105] Cyril of Scythopolis, 'Life of Euthymius', in R.M. Price and J. Binns, *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives of the Monks of Palestine* (CSS 114. Kalamazoo, 1991), pp. 1–92.

[106] Presumed to be the date of his death (Ibid., p. li.)

[107] Ibid., p. 14.

[108] Ibid., p. 16.

[109] Ibid., p. 20.

to Cyril of Scythopolis. Such a scheme has close parallels with that administered by Porphyrius in Gaza: in neither place do we find mention of anointing, but the baptism must have been considered complete and valid if Aspébetus could so easily be made a bishop (*V.Euthym.* 25,5).

# Syria and Egypt

We have already hinted that we think that the baptismal rite in *MC* is different from that which Cyril describes in *Cats*; but what caused the Jerusalem church to revise its rite both structurally and theologically? It does not seem adequate to attribute this to the liturgical creativity of one man, namely Bishop Cyril given that, as we shall see, these new features are found elsewhere even if not presented in the same way as *MC*. A synchronic comparative analysis with rites from neighbouring provinces will allow us to identify more clearly whether Jerusalem was a leader or follower of fashion, to assess the creativity of Cyril and the Jerusalem church, and to note in broad terms when and how a province might have incorporated particular new liturgical elements. In this chapter we will present the arguments already made for Syrian or Egyptian influence upon the Jerusalem rite, introduce the sources from these provinces and suggest some indicators of the Syrian and Egyptian patterns.

Unlike the debate over the authorship of *MC* which has excited considerable interest, the very pertinent question of whence came the novel features in the Jerusalem rite has been addressed in only three short but highly significant articles. E.C. Ratcliff found that the baptismal rite in *MC* was still in essence a Syrian rite with some new, albeit striking, features; the developments are consistent with those of other Syrian rites.[1] He presented evidence for a distinctive Syrian initiatory pattern in *MC*, and noted that, 'The rite on which Cyril comments is fundamentally the old Syrian rite, with certain dramatically impressive embellishments added at the beginning, and with a new feature annexed at the end'.[2] He posed this question with regard to *MC* 3:

> Whence did the church authorities of Jerusalem derive the post-baptismal ceremony and the use of *myron*? Was the ceremony an imitation of Western practice, instituted by a local Eastern Church which was not afraid of novelty and of employing novelty for the purposes of edification? Or was the new usage suggested by some document held to be authoritative, such as the *Apostolic Tradition*?[3]

Ratcliff then charts the influence of this hagiopolite 'novelty' upon the rites of neighbouring sees, evidenced by *AC* 7: 'We may take the rite of Book VII of *Apostolic Constitutions* as representative of the kind of liturgical experimentation

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[1] E.C. Ratcliff, 'The Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition and its Resettlement under the Influence of Jerusalem in the Fourth Century', G.J. Cuming (ed.), *Studies in Church History*, vol. 2 (1965), pp. 19–37.

[2] Ibid., p. 29.

[3] Ibid., p. 32.

which was prompted alike by the Jerusalem model and Cyril's lectures'.[4] Ratcliff even detected Cyril's influence upon East Syria before the region adopted the post-immersion anointing, seeing a correlation between the explanation of the immersion offered by *MC* 2 and Narsai, whom Ratcliff claims 'was acquainted with the lectures'.[5] Following Ratcliff, we need look no further than Syria to find the source and model for the Jerusalem rite; the Jerusalem church is both within that tradition and contributes to its development.

An alternative attempt to explain the liturgical relationship between Jerusalem and her neighbours was proposed by Geoffrey Cuming in his analysis of the anaphora of *MC* 5, where he asserted that, 'the Jerusalem rite, though showing clear signs of Syrian influence, is basically akin rather to the Egyptian *Liturgy of St. Mark*'.[6] Cuming assessed the structure of the anaphora which lies behind *MC* to propose from the position of the diptychs and the epiclesis that it followed an Egyptian pattern. Further, he noted the linguistic parallels in the text of the pre-sanctus and the institution narrative between *MC*, *Ser.* 1 and *Deir-Balyzeh*, which are not shared by *MC*, Chrysostom and *AC* 7. He concluded that the origins of the Jerusalem eucharist lay in Egypt and then very briefly turned his attention to the baptismal rite. Having noted a similarity in the baptismal formula and the post-immersion anointing, he concluded that 'The affinities of the Jerusalem baptismal rite lie with Egypt and Africa rather than Syria'; and that

> At the beginning of the fourth century Egypt and Jerusalem were using essentially the same rite, which differed from that in use at Antioch. During the course of the century innovations in theology and structure appear at Jerusalem which are also found at Antioch in the closing years of the century.[7]

Bryan Spinks responded briefly to Cuming's article finding that there was a 'stronger case' for possible Egyptian influence on the initiation rite than on the anaphora.[8] He suggested that there may even be a possibility that Egypt was influenced from Jerusalem with the Council of Tyre and the dedication of the Holy Sepulchre complex (335) being opportunities when such influence could have been exerted; or, following Ratcliff, that 'possibly Jerusalem and Egypt were independently influenced by the same source', that being *AT*. We would agree with him that 'when looking at theological and liturgical influences, it is always difficult to identify the supposed source or direction of influence',[9] but we would suggest that the matter is aided by closer attention to questions of date and authorship of the texts one wishes to consider. In this article, he acknowledged the debate over the authorship and dates of *MC*, but did not really take it into account as he suggested that *Ser.* might be influenced by *MC*, and implied that the liturgy in *MC* was in place in 335. His

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[4]  Ibid., p. 35.

[5]  Ibid., p. 36.

[6]  Geoffrey Cuming, 'Egyptian Elements in the Jerusalem Liturgy', *JTS*, 25 (1974): 117.

[7]  Ibid.: 123.

[8]  Bryan Spinks, 'The Jerusalem Liturgy of the *Catecheses Mystagogicae*: Syrian or Egyptian?', *SP*, 18 (1989): 391–5.

[9]  Ibid.: 394.

conclusion that, 'until further textual evidence is adduced … Cyril should continue to be regarded as one distinctive rite in a very diverse Syrian tradition'[10] requires *MC* to show sufficient Syrian characteristics, such as those which convinced Ratcliff.

Key to assessing these hypotheses is the chronological relationship between sources. In chapter 1, we suggested that comparison between sources to draw out the relationship of influence requires such a relationship to have been possible; therefore the date and provenance of the sources to be used as evidence for a Syrian or Egyptian pattern become critically important. In what follows the Syrian and Egyptian sources which may have influenced or been influenced by *MC* will be presented, these date from the fourth to the early fifth century.

## The Syrian Sources

The area described as West Syria is that centred on Antioch and directly under its patriarchate. For our purposes, it will not include Palestine which is assessed as an independent area even though the patriarch of Antioch had jurisdiction in Palestine; neither will it include the East Syrian sources in Syriac which retain their distinctive initiatory pattern throughout the period of our study. The sources from which to assess the initiation rites in the patriarchate of Antioch are primarily the catechetical homilies of John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia, and the *Apostolic Constitutions*; in addition there are occasional references and allusions to liturgical rites in other homilies, for example in Chrysostom's series *On Genesis* and *On Matthew*. For all these sources there is a question about their date and provenance which needs to be resolved here.

### John Chrysostom

John Chrysostom's *Baptismal Catecheses* exist in two series: that discovered and published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1909[11] (*P-K*), and that by Antoine Wenger in the Athonite monastery of Stavronikita in the 1950s[12] (*Stav.*). Prior to these, two 'catechetical lectures' had been published by Montfaucon[13] (*MF*), only one of which could properly be said to be catechetical: the first was substantially the same as *P-K* 1 and appears to be an introductory lecture delivered at the start of the catechesis 30 days before Easter; the second, although delivered in Lent, is not a catechetical

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[10] Ibid.

[11] A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca Sacra* (St Petersburg, 1909), pp. 154–183. His edition contained only homilies 2, 3 and 4 of the four in the manuscript. Auguste Piédagnel (*Jean Chrysostome: Trois Catéchèses Baptismales.* SChr 388. Paris, 1988) also chose to include only three of the four homilies in his edition, but this time choosing 1, 2 and 3. References will be to Piédagnel's edition.

[12] Antione Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome: Huit Catéchèses Baptismales* (SChr 50*bis.* Paris, 1970).

[13] *PG* 49, 223–240.

lecture at all but the last of the series *On the Statues*.[14] The *P-K* series contains four lectures: 1, 2 and 3 delivered before baptism and the fourth delivered after baptism on Holy Saturday. *Stav.* contains eight lectures: 1 and 2 are pre-baptismal catechesis; 3 is the same as *P-K* 4; and 5 to 8 were delivered in Easter week.

Wendy Mayer has reviewed the traditional criteria for assigning Chrysostom's works to Antioch or Constantinople rendering them much less certain.[15] Although she seems to favour the strong probability that the catechetical lectures were delivered in Antioch, each of the criteria used to draw such a conclusion is itself open to question and none of them are entirely conclusive. From *Stav.* Wenger presented two indicators of Antiochene origin: the author appears to speak with the humility of a priest rather than the authority of a bishop;[16] and in *Stav.* 8 Chrysostom refers to the presence of the non-Greek speaking rural population at the liturgy.[17] The former is less certain as it may simply have been a rhetorical device, but the latter Mayer finds reasonably likely.[18] Piédagnel, discussing *P-K* 3.5, again notes the humility of the author where in terms similar to *Stav.* 2.19 he regrets the sins he has committed since his baptism.[19] Further evidence is found in Chrysostom's condemnation of swearing oaths (*P-K* 1.19–20; 2.2,8) which, being similar to that of the *Homilies on the Statues*, must have been addressed to the same congregation. He opens *P-K* 2 in similar terms to that of *Hom. on the Opening of Acts* (CPG 4426), and in *P-K* 3.9 he explicitly refers to the bishop. In *P-K* 3.4, a combination of references to the 'teacher' (in the context, himself) and the 'high-priest' (by inference the bishop, and not himself) indicates his presbyteral status, but Mayer finds it only 'probable' than *P-K* 3 was delivered in Antioch, and not 'definitive'.[20] On balance there are indicators of Antiochene provenance but none of Constantinopolitan, and so as far as these series are concerned doubts properly cast over the criteria do not seem to have changed their provenance.[21]

Chrysostom's preaching ministry began after he was made priest in 386. Wenger noted that his first homilies after ordination display a lack of self confidence with his audience and, as this is not evident in the catecheses, he concluded that they do not

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[14]  See Frans van de Paverd, *John Chrysostom, the Homilies on the Statues: An Introduction* (OCA 239. Rome, 1991), pp. 216–30.

[15]  Wendy Mayer, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom – Provenance. Reshaping the Foundations* (OCA 273. Rome, 2005).

[16]  Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 60.

[17]  Wenger (*Jean Chrysostome,* p. 61) says this linguistic situation fits Antioch where the city spoke Greek but the surrounding areas used a Syrian dialect.

[18]  Mayer, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom*, pp. 404–5.

[19]  Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 38.

[20]  Mayer, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom,* pp. 322–3.

[21]  The following commentators also conclude Antiochene origin: R. Kaczynski, *Johannes Chrysostomus: Catéchèses Baptismales/Taufkatechesen* (Fontes Christiani 6/1. Freiburg, 1991), p. 38; Yarnold, *AIRI*, p. 150; P.W. Harkins, *John Chrysostom: Baptismal Instructions* (ACW, vol. 31. Westminster, 1963), pp. 10, 15–16; Matthew T. Finn, *The Liturgy of Baptism in the Baptismal Instructions of St John Chrysostom* (Studies in Christian Antiquity, vol. 5. Washington, 1967), p. 9.

date from this first year after ordination.[22] In his second Lent as a priest, Chrysostom preached the series *On the Statues* and as the catechetical lectures do not refer to these events they are unlikely to date from 387.[23] During and after Lent 388, he preached the 32 homilies *on Genesis*; Wenger identified Chrysostom's allusion to an interruption of this series as a reference to *P-K* 1, and thus dated the *P-K* series to 388.[24] Paul Devos re-investigated the dating and concluded that 388 was most probable, assigning the four homilies to the thirtieth day before Easter (Friday, 10 March), Holy Wednesday (5 April), Holy Thursday (6 April) and Easter Sunday (9 April).[25]

If *P-K* was the first set of catechetical lectures from 388, then the *Stavronikita* series must come from the remainder of his time in Antioch (389 to 398); but can any greater precision be achieved? Chrysostomos Baur suggested that this series showed remarkable parallels with passages of the *Homs On Matthew* delivered in 390;[26] Harkins concurred, finding 60 parallels in the *Homs On Matthew.*[27] Wenger, although he entitled his examination of this topic, 'Pâcques de l'année 390?', gives no further precision than 389–97.[28] The Harkins/Baur hypothesis was accepted by Finn,[29] but Kaczynski ignored Harkins and held to Wenger's less precise dating.[30]

Unlike Jerusalem, in Antioch mystagogy was delivered before baptism; the lectures which explain the liturgy itself, *Stav.* 2 and *P-K* 3, were delivered during Holy Week. Wenger noted that *Stav.* 3 and 4 appeared to be delivered in the same circumstances – after baptism but before the candidates had received communion; he resolved this apparent problem by placing *Stav.* 3 on the night of Holy Saturday and *Stav.* 4 on the morning of Easter Sunday.[31] Piédagnel, however, noting the identity of *Stav.* 3 and *P-K* 4 concluded that the former should be properly assigned to the *P-K* series, thereby resolving the problematic chronology of the *Stav.* series.[32]

Kaczynski assigned *P-K* 2 to the twentieth day before Easter, and *Stav.* 2 to an unspecified date before the end of Lent.[33] In the *Stav.* series there is no further homily before baptism at Easter, however *P-K* 2 was followed by *P-K* 3 preached on Holy Thursday. Despite the different days on which they were preached and the implication that the mystagogical instruction was delivered at different stages in the catechetical process, there are clear similarities between the two explanations which

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[22]  Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 63.

[23]  Ibid, pp. 63–4.

[24]  Ibid, pp. 64–5. A view followed also by Finn, *Liturgy of Baptism*, pp. 9–10; Harkins, *John Chrysostom*, p. 16; Kaczynski, *Johannes Chrysostomus*, p. 48; Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 39; and Johannes Quasten, *Patrology* (Westminster, 1960), vol. 3, p. 451.

[25]  Paul Devos, 'Saint Jean Chrysostome à Antioche dans les quatres homélies baptismales (dont BHG 1930w)', *AB*, 109 (1991): 153.

[26]  Chrysostomos Baur, *John Chrysostom and his Time* (2 vols. London, 1959), vol. 1, p. 289.

[27]  Harkins, *John Chrysostom*, p. 18.

[28]  Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 63.

[29]  Finn, *Liturgy of Baptism*, p. 9.

[30]  Kaczynski, *Johannes Chrysostomus*, pp. 44–5.

[31]  Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 182.

[32]  Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 37.

[33]  Kaczynski, *Johannes Chrysostomus*, pp. 47–8.

indicate that the rite was unchanged. Where necessary in the following chapters distinctions between *P-K* and *Stav.* will be demonstrated, where none is evident we will draw primarily from *Stav.*

John's preaching and writing on biblical books contain scattered and occasional references to the rites of initiation, but it needs to be stated that these are incidental to his main purpose and often function as illustrations or demonstrations. In his *Homs on Matthew* he speaks of baptism for the remission of sins (10.2; 11.7; 19.9) and warns against backsliding (4.14; 13.2; 17.6); however he does not draw distinct parallels between Christ's baptism and that of his audience when discussing Matthew 3:13ff except to affirm the presence of the Holy Spirit at both.[34] In the *Homs on John* Chrysostom explains the significance of the immersion as the rising of the 'new man' from the tomb in the power of the Trinity (25.2; 78.3) and describes the font as a womb (26.1). Here his explanation of John 1:29ff is related to Christian baptism, but he is more concerned to convey the spiritual and theological implications than repeat the structure of the liturgy. Mayer and Allen refer to the enormous amount of preaching undertaken by John in Antioch and to the existence of 900 sermons from these years;[35] however, they noted that 'there is much dispute as to whether what survives is a much edited version of the original and whether many of them were even preached or are simply written in the style of an orally delivered sermon'.[36] Their discussion does not include the series we shall use, but their indicators used in the assessment of others include, for delivered sermons, the lack of polish, 'spontaneous' elements and stylistic lapses implying they were 'orally delivered and stenographically recorded (but not subsequently edited)'.[37] Sermons which show signs of an editorial process will have had these elements removed. The *Homs on Matthew* and *on John* would appear to fall into the latter category from the rather dense style and the relative absence of rhetorical flourish, in clear contrast to the series *on Genesis*, in which he frequently address the congregation.[38] *On Genesis* is dated to 388 with *Homs* 1–33 being delivered before Easter and the rest after Pentecost. J.N.D. Kelly dated the series *on Matthew* to 390 and *on John* to 391, both being spread throughout the year and not confined to a particular season.[39]

*Theodore of Mopsuestia*

If we can assign Chrysostom's catechesis to Antioch in 388 and 389–98, what of Theodore's homilies? Theodore was a direct contemporary of Chrysostom in

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[34]  Chrysostom, *Hom. on Matt.* 12.3: 'The Dove itself at that time … appeared … to teach thee also that upon thee no less at thy baptism the Spirit comes.' G. Prevost, *The Homilies of S. John Chrysostom on the Gospel of Matthew* (Oxford, 1843), part 1, p. 167.

[35]  Wendy Mayer and Pauline Allen, *John Chrysostom* (London, 2000), p. 7.

[36]  Ibid., p. 31 n. 4 (on p. 208).

[37]  Ibid., p. 31.

[38]  For example, 'Our congregation today is smaller and the participants in the action less numerous …' Chrysostom, *Hom. on Genesis* 10.1. Robert C. Hill, *John Chrysostom: Homilies on Genesis* (FoC, vol. 74. Washington, 1990), p. 127.

[39]  J.N.D. Kelly, *Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom, Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop* (London, 1995), p. 90. See also Mayer, p. 267.

Antioch; he was ordained priest in 383 and presumably took his turn in addressing the congregation and the candidates for baptism. In 392, he was made bishop of Mopsuestia and he died in 428. If his homilies were delivered in Antioch, they could be used to corroborate or supplement Chrysostom's accounts, but if in Mopsuestia, then he witnesses to a distinct rite within the West Syrian traditions, one which is similar to that of Antioch but which has evolved.

Alphonse Mingana proposed that these homilies were delivered in Antioch after the Council of Constantinople (381), suggesting a date of 392.[40] Raymond Tonneau and Robert Devreesse follow Mingana in placing them after 381 because of references to the council in *Hom.* 9, but before Theodore's *Controversy with the Macedonians* (392) where he seems to refer to the homilies; they concluded that the homilies witness to the Antiochene rite.[41] This is a position which has been supported by many other recent commentators on Theodore and Chrysostom.[42]

Hans Lietzmann, however, on the basis of the liturgical evidence, proposed that the homilies were given in Mopsuestia.[43] Finn, also noting the liturgical discrepancies, concluded that

> both sets of instructions could not have been given at the same time in the same city … The differences (and one might add, developments) stem from the fact that Theodore's instructions were delivered at a date later than Chrysostom's and in Mopsuestia, a country see at some distance from Antioch. The similarities, sufficiently striking to indicate that the liturgies are substantially the same, have their origin in the fact that Mopsuestia while distant from Antioch, came under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and liturgical influence of Antioch … .[44]

If Theodore preached these sermons after 381, or indeed 383 when he became a priest, and before 392 when he became bishop of Mopsuestia, and if Chrysostom preached in 388, then we could rightly assume there should be some correspondence between the rites described: any differences cannot be due to 'liturgical evolution' in such a short time span. Additionally, the theology of the rite described by Theodore is similar in many ways to that of *MC* (death and resurrection), whereas Chrysostom favours the typology of Christ's baptism in the Jordan. As we shall see in the following chapters, there are such significant differences that it is extremely difficult to maintain that the liturgy described by Theodore is that of Antioch, and we conclude, therefore, with Lietzmann and Finn, that these lectures contain the liturgy of Mopsuestia.

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[40] Alphonse Mingana, *Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacrament of Baptism and the Eucharist* (Woodbrooke Studies, vol. 5. Cambridge, 1932), p. xvi.

[41] Raymond Tonneau and Robert Devreesse, *Les Homélies Catéchètiques de Théodore de Mopsueste* (Studi e Testi, vol. 145.Vatican, 1949), p. xvi.

[42] See Harkins, pp. 15–18, 45; Enrico Mazza, *Mystagogy* (New York, 1989), p. 61; Riley, p. 16; *AIRI*, p. 150; P. Bruns, *Theodor von Mopsuestia: Katechetische Homilien* (Fontes Christiani, vol. 17/1. Freiburg, 1994), p. 23.

[43] Hans Lietzmann, 'Die Liturgie des Theodor von Mopsuestia', *Kleine Schriften* vol. III (Berlin, 1962), p. 72.

[44] Finn, *Liturgy of Baptism*, p. 12.

*The* Apostolic Constitutions

The third major source for this province is the *Apostolic Constitutions* (*AC*). *AC* is a compilation of the *Didascalia* (Books 1–6), the *Didache* (7.1–32) and the *Apostolic Tradition* (8.3–45). We will concern ourselves here only with the sections which describe initiation: 3.16–18, 7.22 and 7.40–45. The *Didascalia*, on which the account in *AC* 3 is based, is considered a third-century Syrian document reproduced in *AC* with few alterations.[45] The latter parts of Book 7 and Book 8, however, contain material from other sources and it is here that one finds the most important liturgical information.[46]

Marcel Metzger established Syrian provenance: the months are called by their Syro-Palestinian names; the feast of the Nativity is mentioned but not the feat of the Presentation, the former was known in fourth-century Syria but not in Jerusalem and *vice-versa*. More precisely, he concludes that it comes from Antioch because the implied location is a large city surrounded by many neighbouring bishoprics; Antioch precedes Alexandria in the lists of the major sees, contrary to the canons of Nicaea; there is a threat of Jewish proselytism, also mentioned by Chrysostom. Liturgically, he found similarities in the eucharistic liturgy in *AC* and in Chrysostom's writings and the liturgies described required a large number of clergy such as one might find in such an important centre.[47]

Although this is a composite work, Metzger noted the places where the hand of the redactor is evident showing that *AC* reflects a particular community and is not simply a collection of documents.[48] It is clearly fourth century because it refers to councils held between Nicaea and the eve of Constantinople; further, the lack of references to the religious legislation of Theodosius, in particular the prohibition of pagan worship, and a doctrine of the Holy Spirit contrary to the declarations at the council of Constantinople lead Metzger to date it to 380.[49] Previously Hanssens had suggested a slightly later date (380 to 400) which he based upon the first celebration of Christmas in Antioch, in 379.[50] Christmas and the Council of Constantinople are the critical reference points in establishing the date of *AC* as Bradshaw puts it:

> It is unlikely to be much earlier than (375), because it includes a reference to the feast of Christmas, which was only just beginning to make an appearance in Eastern churches, and it is unlikely to be much later, because its doctrine of the Holy Spirit is incompatible with the definition agreed at the Council of Constantinople in 381.[51]

*AC* therefore predates the preaching of Chrysostom who seems to be unacquainted with it. Grisbrooke suggested that the theological and liturgical differences between

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[45]  Marcel Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques* (SChr 320. Paris, 1985), p. 19.

[46]  Ibid.; W. Jardine Grisbrooke, *The Liturgical Portions of the Apostolic Constitutions* (Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Studies vols 13–14. Nottingham, 1990), p. 5.

[47]  Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, pp. 55–7.

[48]  Ibid., pp. 30–3.

[49]  Ibid., pp. 58, 60. Grisbrooke, *The Liturgical Portions* (p. 7) also dated *AC* to 380.

[50]  Jean Michel Hanssens, *La Liturgie d'Hippolyte* (OCA 155. Rome, 1959), p. 52.

[51]  Bradshaw, *Search for the Origins*, p. 85.

*AC* and Chrysostom implied that the compilation was done by a group from another congregation: 'Antioch in the fourth century was a place of great theological ferment … Three bishops disputed the see, one intransigently orthodox, one openly Arian and one Apollinarian.'[52] He does not provide any evidence for assigning *AC* to a particular group and the text itself does not provide explicit evidence that it is the work of Arians or Apollinarians. Bradshaw, in charting orthodox and heterodox judgements on the text, unfortunately, gives no fresh insight on the subject. He notes that *AC* was considered Arian by Photius, patriarch of Constantinople (d. 891), and that, although Funk produced an edition of the text in 1909 in which 'orthodox' variants had been preferred, modern commentators have been more inclined to see *AC* as a heterodox compilation. He cites Georg Wagner, who detected the style of Eunomius, Hageborn, who attributed it to an Arian bishop named Julian, and Metzger who, following Hageborn, accepted the authorship of the unknown 'Julian' but did not consider the text to be strictly Arian.[53] Logan has suggested that Chrysostom's desire for precision concerning the anointing between the earlier *P-K* and later *Stav.* was to distinguish his community from that of *AC*, although he makes no claims about the theological view of *AC*'s community.[54] Metzger noted the established hierarchy of the church described in *AC*, so whichever heterodox community produced it was certainly no underground sect.

If the initiation rite described in *AC* 7 is that of a heterodox community, and if our preference for a late date for *MC* can be upheld, then the first Syrian witness to a post-immersion anointing arises from a possibly Arian community in Antioch: what implications does this have for understanding how liturgical units were transferred between churches and communities? One might not be surprised to find a heterodox group distinguishing themselves from other Christians in Antioch by their rituals, and one could also expect such a group to avoid charges of innovation (in liturgy as well as theology) by adopting practices which were established elsewhere. The purpose of *AC* would be to give 'apostolic' credibility to a group outside the mainstream who had found in the sources at their disposal an alternative rite to that used by the Nicene 'orthodox' community and which appeared to have greater antiquity. As we shall see in chapter 6, the presence and absence of the post-immersion anointing and its function in the rite are important factors in our search for the relationship of influence.

In our discussion of the Egyptian sources we will present another source apparently dependent upon *AT*, the *Canons of Hippolytus* (*CH*); but despite sharing a common root, there is no direct relationship between *AC* and *CH*.[55] Hanssens emphasized that a church order is not just a record of church canons but is a document which has been edited to reflect the views of the community which produced it.[56] Having established the date and place of composition of a church order, it should be possible to identify

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[52] Grisbrooke, *The Liturgical Portions*, p. 7.

[53] Bradshaw, *Search for the Origins*, p. 85.

[54] A.H.B. Logan, 'Post-baptismal Chrismation in Syria: the Evidence of Ignatius, the *Didache* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*', *JTS*, 49 (1998): 106.

[55] Hanssens, *La Liturgie d'Hippolyte*, p. 173.

[56] Ibid., p. 179.

and isolate distinctive liturgical and theological ideas which reflect the milieu in which they were composed. The liturgical elements which *AC* and *CH* share and upon which they differ will be referred to in the following chapters.

The catechetical and homiletic work of Chrysostom, the homilies of Theodore and *AC* will be used to represent the West Syrian patriarchate of Antioch. We have concluded that *AC* is the earliest and of Antiochene origin; Chrysostom also described the liturgy of that city in homilies delivered from 388 onwards; lastly, the rite described by Theodore is presumed to be that of Mopsuestia and to date from the end of the fourth or early fifth century.

## The Egyptian Sources

### Alexandria

The patriarchal see of Alexandria is strangely silent about the process of initiation, except where it might be affected by doctrinal matters. Athanasius and Didymus refer to the baptismal formula as part of discussions on the Trinity[57] and Cyril only incidentally as part of a treatment of the gospel accounts of Christ's baptism.[58] The concept of the *disciplina arcani* is an over-used device when liturgists encounter gaps in their sources, but it may well be that it was an Alexandrian custom. Elsewhere I have suggested that the nature and content of the *disciplina arcani* varied from province to province, but that none of the other Eastern sees exhibit as much strictness as Alexandria.[59] Athanasius' silence in both his preaching and his writing may have been due to his context; he says that, 'We ought not then to parade the holy mysteries before the uninitiated, lest the heathen in their ignorance deride them and the Catechumens being over curious be offended'.[60] His reticence is fuelled by fear of derision and misunderstanding rather than the law of the church, and that Cyril of Alexandria also maintains a silence on these matters may indicate that caution was a local custom.

A problematic text from Alexandria which contains instructions about the administration of baptism is the *Canonical Responses* (*CR*) of Timothy I of Alexandria (elected 371) which comprise 18 questions and answers to disciplinary questions put to the bishop on a variety of issues and collected in two books. E.C. Whitaker regarded Book 1 as genuine and from *c*. 381, but Book 2 is not and is probably fifth century.[61] The only information about baptism in Book 1 (1.6) concerns menstruating women and not the liturgy; Book 2, though, gives details about the rite

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[57] Athanasius, *De Decretis* 31; Didymus the Blind, *On the Holy Spirit* 239.

[58] Cyril of Alexandria, *Tome 4 against Nestorius*; *Commentary on Luke* 3.

[59] Juliette Day, 'Adherence to the *Disciplina Arcani* in the Fourth Century', *SP*, 35 (2001): 266–70.

[60] Athanasius, *Apologia Contra Arianos* 11 in A. Robertson, *Select Writings and Letters of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria* (NPNF 2nd series, vol. 4. Edinburgh, 1991), p. 106.

[61] E.C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy* (3rd edn. revised by Maxwell Johnson. London, 2003), p. 127.

in answer to a question about how to conduct the liturgy in the absence of a deacon.[62] The authentic Timothean response from Book 1 is of little use in our discussion of the rites, whereas those in the disputed Book 2 are a useful supplement to the scarce information about the ministers of the rite and help to establish the sequence more precisely. The difficulty in establishing the date and authorship of Book 2 militate against these responses being used as witnesses to Egyptian practice of the fourth and fifth centuries and so in our analysis *CR* will only be cited where its evidence does not contradict that of the other Egyptian sources.

### The Sacramentary of Serapion

The other Eastern provinces provide us with mostly theological and catechetical treatments of the rite of initiation in homilies and treatises. Such sources provide evidence of the interpretation of initiation but they rarely provide the complete texts of prayers used in the rite itself. The *Sacramentary* of Serapion is therefore a unique and most useful source for our purposes despite lacking the rubrics from which sequence and ritual can be determined and despite the possible 'disorder' of the manuscript. Of the 30 prayers, only five are related to baptism with a further two for the blessing of oil used in initiation; following the manuscript order they are entitled as follows:

7   for the 'sanctification of the waters'
8   a 'prayer for those being baptized'
9   a prayer 'after the renunciation'
10  a 'prayer after the reception'[63]
11  a 'prayer after the candidate has been baptized and come up'
15  a prayer for the anointing of those who are being baptized'
16  a 'prayer for the chrism with which the baptized are anointed'.

Identification of Serapion, bishop of Thmuis (*c*. 330–60)[64] and correspondent of both Anthony and Athanasius, as author or complier is helped by him being named twice in the manuscript, in the titles of *Ser.* 1 and 15. Brightman felt that we could be

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[62]   Timothy I of Alexandria (*attr.*), *CR* 2.8, 10. Interestingly, *CR* 2.4 gives permission to baptize an infant under seven days if there is a risk of death.

[63]   F.E. Brightman, ('The Sacramentary of Serapion', *JTS* 1, [1899–1900]: 252, 264) thought *Ser.* 10 was used after the pre-immersion anointing. F.X. Funk (*Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* [Paderborn, 1905], vol. 2, p. 184) and Geoffrey Cuming ('Thmuis Revisited: Another look at the Prayers of Bishop Sarapion', *TS*, 41 (1980): 568) placed it immediately prior to the immersion; and R.J.S Barrett-Lennard (*The Sacramentary of Sarapion of Thmuis* [Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 25. Nottingham, 1993, p. 38) added that it may have followed the act of adherence. Maxwell Johnson (*The Prayers of Sarapion: A Literary, Liturgical and Theological Analysis* [OCA 249, Rome], 1995, p. 135) concluded that this prayer 'brings to a close the movement or procession of the candidate(s) from outside to inside the baptistery'.

[64]   On the date of Serapion's epsicopate see Brightman, 'Sacramentary': 91–2. Panteleimon Rodopoulos also suggested that the *Sacramentary* 'belongs to the middle of the fourth century,

confident that Serapion wrote prayers 1 (the anaphora), and 15 to 18, but was willing to accept that

> it may well be that the whole collection is to be included. Allowing for difference in subject matter, there are no marked differences either of language and style or of character to be discerned in the several prayers … it is not uncommon in liturgical documents to find the real or supposed author's name attached to the titles of individual prayers of a series, the whole of which is meant to be attributed to the same author.[65]

Rodopoulos also noted the 'amazing unity of style, language and character' of the prayers, which he felt 'weakens the view that there were many authors or redactors of the whole collection'.[66] Barrett-Lennard reviewed the debate about authorship over the last 50 years, noting the general agreement that even if Serapion did not compose the prayers *de novo* he was at least responsible for the final form of the collection.[67]

The list of baptismal prayers does not seem to follow the logical order of a baptismal rite and how they might be rearranged has been the subject of considerable discussion. Brightman moved *Ser.* 15 to between prayers 9 and 10;[68] a sequence accepted by Rodopoulos and Barrett-Lennard.[69] Cuming, although not wanting to contradict Brightman, preferred to keep the oil prayers as a distinct group and attributed the 'disorder' to a copyist's error.[70] More recently Maxwell Johnson has taken Cuming's suggestion one stage further and proposed that

> it is quite possible to assert that SAR 7–11 by themselves constitute a rather complete baptismal ritual reflecting a relatively early baptismal theology centred on the Jordan event … But SAR 16 … should more properly be viewed, together with the current formulation of SAR 15 as the result of fourth-century changes and innovations.[71]

A view which provoked criticism from Bryan Spinks for its dependence on a presumed primitive Egyptian baptismal rite (anointing-baptism-eucharist) which meant that any differences in structure and theology had to be seen as later additions. Spinks concluded that

> … there are no grounds for trying to find some hypothetical earlier form underneath its provisions, because we have no sound basis for such an attempt. It should be taken as firm

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perhaps to an earlier but not to a later period', *The Sacramentary of Serapion* (Thessaloniki, 1967), p. 36.

[65] Brightman, 'Sacramentary', p. 90.

[66] Rodopoulos, *Sacramentary of Serapion*, pp. 20–1.

[67] Barrett-Lennard, *Sacramentary of Sarapion*, pp. 7–9.

[68] Brightman, 'Sacramentary': 247.

[69] See Rodopoulos, *Sacramentary of Serapion*, p. 70–1; Barrett-Lennard, *Sacramentary of Sarapion*, p. 10.

[70] Cuming, 'Thmuis Revisited': 570–2.

[71] Maxwell E. Johnson, *Liturgy in Early Christian Egypt* (Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 33. Cambridge, 1995), p. 15.

evidence of what liturgical prayers a bishop in mid-fourth century Thmuis required for the rite of baptism there.[72]

Despite the differences between these two liturgical scholars, they both accept that however much Serapion incorporated or composed the material contained in the *Sacramentary*, the final form reflects both the baptismal practice at Thmuis and the finishing touches of Serapion.[73]

*The* Canons of Hipploytus

Spinks warns of assuming that the prayers and the structure of the rite in *Ser.* were those of Egypt as a whole[74] and as we have seen for Palestine it is possible for different baptismal liturgies to co-exist within a province. We do though have a second early fourth-century north Egyptian source, the *Canons of Hippolytus*; might it then be possible to search for a distinctive pattern from this region? Bradshaw charted the debate over the date and provenance of *CH*:[75] existing only in an Arabic translation from a Coptic version of a Greek original, of the same family as the Antiochene *AC* and the *Testamentum Domini* (*TD*), *CH* has been variously considered as the source from which *AT*, *AC* and *TD* were derived,[76] as the last of this series[77] and as the first to be derived from *AT*.[78] This latter view has won wide acceptance following René-Georges Coquin's assessment of the internal evidence for a date in the first half of the fourth century: *homoousios* in Canon 1 indicates composition after Nicaea (325); the separate fasts of 40 days and of Holy Week correspond to a time before Athanasius combined them (*c*. 330); the Christological heresies referred to in Canon 1 are pre-Nicene and did not feature in councils after 340.[79] Bradshaw concludes, 'If this is correct, it makes *CH* not the latest derivative of *AT*, but the earliest, antedating both *AC* (*c*. 375) and *TD* (fifth century) and almost certainly the Latin translation of *AT* (probably *c*. A.D.400)';[80] but, as we mentioned above, it is not necessary to propose a linear relation between these texts. Coquin believed that *CH* was composed in

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[72] Bryan Spinks, 'Sarapion of Thmuis and Baptismal Practice in Early Christian Egypt: The Need for a Judicious Reassessment', *Worship*, 72 (1998): 270.

[73] Johnson concluded, '… since Spinks and I obviously agree on the correctness of attributing the collection in some way to the time, and possibly liturgical work, of Sarapion of Thmuis himself, the mid-fourth century period remains for both of us the overall historical context for the inclusion of these prayers within the document.' 'The Baptismal Rite and the Anaphora in the Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis: An Assessment of a "Judicious Reassessment"', *Worship*, 73 (1999): 143.

[74] Spinks, 'A Judicious Reassessment': 270.

[75] Paul Bradshaw, *The Canons of Hippolytus* (Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 2. Nottingham, 1987), pp. 5–9.

[76] H. Achelis, *Die Canones Hippolyti* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 212–68.

[77] Gregory Dix, *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome* (London, 1937), p. lxxviii.

[78] René-Georges Coquin, *Les Canons d'Hippolyte* (PO, vol. 31. Paris, 1966), p. 303ff.

[79] Ibid., pp. 320 and 329.

[80] Bradshaw, *Canons of Hippolytus*, p. 7.

Alexandria,[81] but Brakmann contended that it was from provincial northern Egypt on the basis of *CH*'s dissimilarity with later Coptic rites.[82] Bradshaw concurred with Brakmann and concluded that, 'they seem to reflect a local tradition which did not survive the increasing standardization of liturgical practice'.[83]

*The* Dêr-Balizeh *papyrus*

The *Dêr-Balizeh* papyrus contains in its final folio what has been considered to be a baptismal confession of faith which we shall discuss in chapter 4. The manuscript was probably written in the sixth and seventh centuries,[84] although Johnson suggests in relation to the anaphora that the liturgical elements may be fourth century.[85] This confession is unlike that described in *CH*, and Roberts and Capelle suggested that it represented an archaic credal formula found also in the Sahidic and Ethiopian versions of *AT*.[86]

Given Cuming's hypothesis that the eucharistic rite of *MC* may well be inspired by Egyptian patterns and that there are hints of this in the initiation rites as well, the search for parallels between the Egyptian and Jerusalem baptismal liturgies may bear fruit. The two principal sources, *Ser.* and *CH*, predate *MC* by up to 50 years and may indeed be contemporary with Cyril's *Cats*; however, we will see that the Egyptian sources present a liturgy which is closer in structure to *MC* 1–3, than to that determined from *Cats*.

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[81]  Coquin, *Les Canons d'Hippolyte*, pp. 329–30.

[82]  H. Brakmann, 'Alexandrei und die Kanones des Hippolyt', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 22 (1979): 139–49.

[83]  Bradshaw, *Canons of Hippolytus*, pp. 7–8.

[84]  C.H. Roberts and B. Capelle, *An Early Euchologium: The Dêr-Balizeh Papyrus* (Bibliothèque de *Muséon*, vol. 23. Louvain, 1949), pp. 9–10.

[85]  Johnson, *Liturgy in Early Christian Egypt*, p. 26.

[86]  Roberts and Capelle, *An Early Euchologium*, pp. 59–61.

# The Pre-Immersion Rituals

Following the structural breakdown of the liturgy of initiation, described in chapter 1, we will concentrate here on the first primary structural unit and investigate aspects of the ceremonies prior to the candidates entering the font. This primary structural unit we further sub-divide into the secondary structural units of rituals which demonstrate the rejection of sin and the devil; rituals which demonstrate the candidate's allegiance to Christ; and the pre-immersion anointing.

The format of this and the following chapters will be to present, discuss and compare the sources for Jerusalem and Palestine with those from Syria and Egypt. In presenting first the Palestinian evidence for each structural unit, an attempt will be made to establish the sequence of the rite in terms of position, movement, actions and words of the candidates and the ministers, so that, where possible, the relation of *MC* to other Palestinian sources can be assessed. We will then present and assess the evidence for Syria and Egypt. For each, the evidence provided by the various sources will be presented and assessed in a similar manner to those for Palestine, with an attempt to discern whether there was a normative pattern in each region. The presentation of each province will conclude with a discussion of the extent to which the rituals described there correspond to those in Palestine and what influence they may have exercised over Palestinian liturgy, and *vice versa*. The presentation of all the evidence for each secondary structural unit will conclude with a brief summary of points of convergence and divergence.

## Ritualising the Rejection of Sin and the Devil

During the final stages of preparation for baptism the candidates in Jerusalem, as was customary elsewhere, had been exorcized and urged to reform their lifestyles, and this process culminated in a once-and-for-all rejection of Satan made at the beginning of the initiation rite. In rites where the renunciation took place immediately prior to the immersion, the connection between the renunciation and initiation is made clear; where it occurred a day before, it is likely to have been considered as the culmination of the catechetical process. The relationship, therefore, between the renunciation and what precedes it is as important as establishing how it was performed.

Characteristics of the renunciation include not just the formula recited by the candidate, but the manner in which it was recited, the posture and gesture of the candidate and the role of the ministers. A remarkable feature of the fourth-century rites is the similarity of the formulae even where other factors differ greatly. M.E. Boismard noted that, 'the various expressions – *works*, *pomp*, *angels* and *worship* – which alternate with each other were used in place of each other in

different local churches,'[1] and thus determining what exactly is being renounced at each clause may not be possible or clear. The rank and role of the ministers of this unit may affect whether it functions as a definitive exorcism, or whether it indicates the candidates' own rejection of sin: in the former, we will expect to see a correspondence between the renunciation and the preparatory exorcisms with mostly passive candidates submitting to words pronounced over them; where candidates reject of their own free will, then there seems to be a much simpler ceremony. The function of this secondary unit within the rite as a whole can be determined by the extent to which it successfully released the candidate from that which is renounced, in some cases we will find that this was only achieved by an anointing or the water itself; this will be revealed by attention to the narrative of this secondary unit within the larger narratives of the primary unit and the rite as a whole.

*Jerusalem and Palestine*

*Procat.*, *Cats* and *It.Eg.* inform us that the candidates were regularly exorcized during Lent, although *MC* makes no reference to any preparatory work undertaken by the candidates to release themselves from Satan prior to their arrival at the baptistery and, indeed, that which they will be required to renounce is explained in terms similar to the warnings issued to catechumens in *Cats*. The lack of any reference to preparation, and the instructive terms in which *MC* is couched, may indicate that the neophytes had not received the sort of thorough instruction on the subject that Cyril provided for his candidates.

In *Cats*, it is clear that there is not one single event which signifies the transfer of allegiance but rather during the catechumenate they are to wean themselves away from the devil and sin through repentance, avoidance of pagan and heretical gatherings, submission to the exorcisms, prayer, fasting and good works (*Cat.* 4.37 and elsewhere). The exorcism described in *Procat.* 9 is part of this process but, as a repeated event during the catechumenate, it serves to assist the candidates' resolve rather than definitively to affect their status *vis-à-vis* sin and the devil. This process has not been fully accomplished by the time they enter the font, as Cyril explains:

> For you descend into the water carrying your sins; but the invocation of grace having
> sealed your soul does not permit you to be subdued by the frightening dragon. Descending
> dead in your sins, you come up having been made alive in righteousness. (*Cat.* 3.12)

There is no detail about the ritual renunciation of Satan in *Cats* and *Procat.*, although there are possible hints. At the end of *Cat.* 18, Cyril gives the syllabus of the mystagogy which they will receive, 'you will be given the reasons for each thing which happened …; first concerning that happening before baptism; next how you were cleansed of your sins by the Lord, by the washing of water with the word …' (*Cat.* 18.33). Here he seems to imply that, although there was a ritual preliminary to entering the font, it was the water rite which dealt effectively with sin: unfortunately Cyril fails to tell us what that ritual was.

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[1]  M.E. Boismard, 'I renounce Satan, his pomps and his works', in A. Grail (ed.), *Baptism in the New Testament* (London, 1964), p. 108.

*MC* 1 opens with the description of the renunciation, we are told where the ritual took place, the posture of the candidates and the words they spoke. 'First you entered the antechamber of the baptistery, and facing West, you heard and were commanded to stretch out [your] hand and you renounced Satan, as if he were present' (*MC* 1.2). The renunciation took place in the porch of the baptistery, rather than in the immediate vicinity of the font which indicates, firstly, that this is a preliminary to the central rites of immersion and post-immersion anointing which will take place inside, and, secondly, that it was very likely to have been a public act.

The Holy Sepulchre complex had its focus to the West; in facing West for the renunciation, the candidates therefore faced the tomb, the place of the Resurrection, which *MC* describes thus: 'The West is the place where darkness appears, and he being darkness, his dominion is in darkness and for this sake having symbolically looked towards the West, you have renounced that dark and gloomy ruler' (*MC* 1.4). That it was necessary to explain the Westward position in 'spiritual' terms may indicate that it was a part of the rite not immediately comprehensible to the candidates, even though the subsequent turning to the East, thereby to face the door of the baptistery, would have been. They are reminded that they were commanded to stretch out a hand and, although which hand and its gesture are not given, it would seem they extended only one hand and that it was not raised heavenwards in a gesture of supplication (as Chrysostom and Theodore), but horizontally in a gesture of rejection.

The explanation of the formula of renunciation is spread over several paragraphs and it is clear that the candidates were prompted to say each clause separately: they are commanded to say, 'I renounce you Satan' (*MC* 1.4); 'Then, secondly, you are taught to say "and all your works"' (*MC* 1.5); 'then, you say "and all his pomp"' (*MC* 1.6); 'after these things you say, "and all your service"' (*MC* 1.8). The author is indicating here the ritual and not simply dividing the clauses to facilitate his explanation.[2] Understanding that, in this rite, the minister prompts the candidate with each clause of the renunciation may solve one of the riddles of the text: Satan, the works and the service are renounced in the second person, but pomp is renounced in the third. Might it be that the preacher has before him a sacramentary or similar, and when reminding the candidates of each clause of the renunciation reads the minister's words instead of the candidate's when he comes to 'pomp'? Thus in the rite the minister would have said 'and all his pomp', but the candidate naturally says, 'and all your pomp'. We are not told who were the ministers of the renunciation, if *MC* are an episcopal address and the minister here was a bishop, then it might be expected to read, 'I told you to say', but first person pronouns are entirely absent from the descriptions in *MC*.

Each article of the renunciation is explained: by renouncing Satan the candidates are no longer enslaved to him and fearful of him (*MC* 1.4); the 'works' of Satan are sin (*MC* 1.5); his 'pomp' are the theatre, hippodrome and amphitheatre (*MC* 1.6), pagan

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[2]  Georg Röwekamp is mistaken in assuming that the candidate recited the formula as one phrase, as this ignores the sequential nature of the preacher's recapitulation. See *Cyrill von Jerusalem: Mystagogicae Catechese/Mystagogische Katechesen* (Fontes Christiani, vol. 7. Freiburg, 1992), p. 25.

festivals and things offered before idols (*MC* 1.7); his 'service' is pagan worship and superstition (*MC* 1.8). The candidates are warned that their renunciation, which effects the breaking of the covenant with Hell and opens Paradise to them (*MC* 1.9), has been recorded in the book of God (*MC* 1.5). This ritual renunciation marks their own decision against Satan and sin but the bond is only broken by the immersion; they are told that, 'this reckless, shameless demon, the author of evil followed you right up to the salvific waters … and is destroyed in the waters of salvation' (*MC* 1.3). Later we will notice that the explanation of the immersion does not return to this but concentrates on dying and rising with Christ. In *MC*, then, the candidates enact by their position, posture and words a personal rejection of Satan, they do not merely assent to propositions about him; just as their enslavement to Satan was real and personal, so consequently must be their rejection of him.

In none of the other Palestinian sources is there a description of the renunciation, neither in *It.Eg.*, *V.Porph.*, nor in the monastic biographies. Jerome, however, may refer to a renunciation formula used in Bethlehem in two works written during his stay there when he speaks of a renunciation of the devil, his world, pomps and works said facing West.[3] H.A. Kelly considered Jerome to be recalling the formula of Illyria which he would have recited at his own baptism,[4] even though one might expect a Western formula to be interrogatory rather than declaratory. Whilst in Bethlehem, it would seem that Jerome did not assist at or conduct baptisms, but one might expect him to be aware of the process after a residency of 28 years. Jerome's descriptions are so close to *MC* that we concur with Hanssens that he is referring to the Palestinian rite.[5]

*The Syrian sources*

The Syrian sources indicate a quite different ritual of renunciation which in conduct parallels more closely the exorcisms during the catechumenate, even though that which is renounced is similar to *MC*. There is some correspondence between the Antiochene ritual described by Chrysostom and that of Mopsuestia, but detailed examination of the mystagogy demonstrates that the theological basis of the renunciation in each see was different. The Antiochene evidence will be presented first and then that of Theodore for Mopsuestia, looking in each case at the connection between the preparatory exorcisms and the initiatory renunciation.

*AC* has a chapter on admission to the catechumenate which implies exorcism only in relation to one 'who has demons' (*AC* 8.32,6) with the ministry of exorcism exercised as a charism by both laity and the ordained (*AC* 8.26). *AC* 7, however, would seem to indicate that the final cleansing occurs in the ceremonies before the immersion and first communion:

> [the candidate] must abstain from that which is hostile (to him) and then approach the
> mysteries; his heart having been previously purified of all evil, spot and wrinkle, and

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[3]  Jerome, *In Amos* 3.6; *Letter* 130.7.
[4]  H. A. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology and Drama* (New York, 1985), p. 100.
[5]  Hanssens, *La Liturgie d'Hippolyte*, p. 456.

then participate in the holy things. For just as the best farmer first clears the field of the weeds which have taken it over and then sows the wheat, similarly you must first drive out from them all ungodliness and then having sown piety consider them worthy of baptism. (*AC* 7.40, 1–2)

The candidates are to be taught to say the formula of renunciation (*AC* 7.40,1), and they recite apparently without prompting, 'I renounce Satan, his works, his pomp, his service, his angels, his inventions and everything concerning him' (*AC* 7.41,2). Here we notice that the formula is impersonal and it contains additional clauses – Satan's angels, inventions and everything under him. No explanation of the exact nature of each item is given at this point, although the pomps are described in 2.61–2; neither is there any reference to a Westward orientation even though it appears in *AT* and *CH*. *AC* is also silent about the location of this rite, the posture and rituals of the candidate, and the minister before whom the renunciation is made.

Between enrolment and baptism, Chrysostom expects the candidates to be actively renouncing sin although he has little to say about the role of Satan, and they were also exorcized daily in Antioch, as in Jerusalem, but after instruction not before.[6] The purpose of the exorcism was to expel the devices of the devil so that the candidate might become a fit dwelling for the heavenly King, but it also has moral and medicinal qualities: 'This [ritual] causes great reverence to be imparted to the soul and leads [the candidate] into a deep compunction' (*Stav.* 2.12). There is some connection between the ritual of exorcism and the renunciation in Chrysostom's church demonstrated by a similar posture of supplication adopted by the candidates for both – bare-footed and hands extended upwards (*Stav.* 2.14; *P-K* 2.6), even though it is not clear whether they stand or kneel for the exorcism and there was no fixed formula (*Stav.* 2.12–14).

In *Stav.* 2.19 he describes a ritual unchanged since his own baptism in 372, except for the introduction of a delay between the pre-immersion rituals and the immersion: *Stav.* 2.24 clearly has a pause between the preliminary rites and the immersion itself, suggesting that they occurred earlier on the Saturday evening or in the afternoon,[7] whereas *P-K* 3.4 places them at 3pm on Good Friday with the mystagogy that this was the time when the thief entered paradise. Wenger proposed that it was the increased number of candidates which prompted this development.[8] Naturally, any time delay between the preliminary rites and the immersion will serve to lessen their import as an integral part of the initiation rite and cause them to become more connected to the final stages of preparation; we do not see this in Jerusalem, where they remain an integral part of the initiation rite.

The candidates are introduced, instructed to kneel as a sign of submission and raise their hands to heaven as a sign of thanksgiving (*P-K* 3.4). The priest, by whom he may imply the bishop, went before each candidate to hear the formula, 'I

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[6]  Finn (*Liturgy of Baptism*, p. 64) presumes that the instructions were given in connection with the evening eucharist, but logistically this would be problematic because of the dismissal of the catechumens before the liturgy of the faithful, unless he envisages a pattern of instruction, exorcism, dismissal and eucharist.

[7]  See Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 147.

[8]  Ibid., p. 80.

renounce you Satan, your pomp, your service, and your works' (*Stav.* 2.20). He does not explain the sense of each item renounced here, but in *Nuper Dictorum* (*MF* 2.5), preached during the Wednesday of Holy Week in 387, pomp is explained as theatres, hippodromes, all sin and observance of days and omens.[9] The renunciation formula is given only in part in *MF* 2 and *P-K* 3, and although *Stav.* 2.20 seems to make it clear that it was recited as one, *P-K* 3 may suggest an interrogation.[10] Unlike the preparatory exorcisms, the renunciation and adherence of the initiation rite effect a contractual relationship (*sunthēkē*) between God and the candidate which is indelibly recorded in heaven (*Stav.* 2.17).

In Mopsuestia we find that a catechumenal exorcism occurs immediately before the candidates make the renunciation; this serves to liberate them so they can then definitively renounce Satan for themselves. Thus it is not by the candidates' own efforts that they are freed, but by the pleading of the exorcists and by the grace of God. In the exorcism the candidates stand barefoot upon the *cilicium*[11] with arms outstretched as the exorcists plead their case (*Hom.* 1.24). The renunciation is conducted in the same supplicatory posture, but this time kneeling (*Hom.* 2.2–3), and they are instructed to pronounce the formula, 'I renounce Satan, all his angels, all his service, all his vanity and all his worldly enticements' (*Hom.* 2.5).[12]

*Comparing Syria and Palestine*   The Syrian patterns of renunciation bear very little relation to the ritual described for Jerusalem. Although the preparatory exorcisms described by Chrysostom achieved similar results to those described by Cyril; in Jerusalem there is no similarity between the rituals of exorcism and renunciation. Again, the posture of the candidates is quite unlike that of *MC*: in Jerusalem, the candidates do not kneel, neither do they adopt a supplicatory posture. In Jerusalem the candidates effect the renunciation by their own words, whereas in Mopsuestia the invocations of the minister are also required. *MC* indicates that the candidates recited each clause after prompting by a minister, but in all these West Syrian sources it appears that the formula was recited in one breath. *AC* 7 and the Mopsuestian formula include, additionally, Satan's angels.

There is no indication anywhere in these Syrian accounts that the candidates faced West for this ritual, but that has not prevented those who seek a common initiation rite for this area to presume the presence of such an orientation on the evidence of *MC* 1. Harkins, for example, wrote, 'Although neither Theodore nor Chrysostom mentions anything about the orientation of the candidate, it seems not unlikely that he turned to the west to renounce Satan and to the east to make his pledge to Christ.'[13] Given the silence of *AC* about orientation even though it

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[9]  Chrysostom, *Nuper Dictorum* 5 = *MF* 2.5.

[10]  Finn, *Liturgy of Baptism*, p. 96.

[11]  See Johannes Quasten, 'Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Exorcism of the Cilicium', *Harvard Theological Review*, 35 (1942): 218.

[12]  *AIRI*, p. 170.

[13]  Harkins, *John Chrysostom*, p. 224 n. 47. Finn too suggests that, 'it is likely that the baptismal liturgy upon which he (Chrysostom) comments contained … the custom of facing West' (*Liturgy of Baptism*, p. 99).

appears in cognate texts, and the absence of such an obvious source of mystagogy in Chrysostom and Theodore, it would seem unlikely that facing West for the renunciation was a custom in West Syria, and Riley quite rightly refuted Harkins on the basis of ritual coherence: 'were there a turning from West to East one must imagine a rather cumbersome ceremonial action… . The candidates would all first kneel, facing the West, make the renunciation, then all stand, turn to the East, kneel down again and then make the act of commitment.'[14] The only similarity between *MC* and these rites lies, unsurprisingly, in the formula.

### The Egyptian sources

As might be expected the catechumenate is presented in the Egyptian sources as a period of penitence to prepare the candidates for the decisive break they will make at baptism,[15] but it would seem from our sources that the process of discernment continued right up to the pre-immersion rituals. In *CH*, there is a ritual scrutiny conducted over each candidate individually during which the bishop questioned the candidates about their preparation, a gospel passage was read and then they were questioned about whether they sought baptism of their own will (*CH* 19): this, however, is a ceremony which concludes the preparation period but there are further exorcistic rites preliminary to the baptism.

The renunciatory rituals in *CH* are spread over two distinct phases: an episcopal exorcism followed by an all-night vigil; and then a declaration of renunciation, an exorcistic anointing and the adherence. The exorcism is described as follows:

> On Saturday the bishop assembles those who are to be baptized. He makes them bow the head towards the East, extends his hand over them and prays and expels every evil spirit from them by his exorcism … When he has finished exorcizing them he breathes on their face and signs their breast, their forehead, their ears and their nose.[16]

The direction of prayer is specified, but because it is Eastward and not Westward the candidates do not seem to be signalling a rejection of Satan by their posture. The prayer and the breathing resemble the Lenten exorcisms described in *Procat.* 9. H.A. Kelly has remarked that the breathing had 'no specifically indicated exorcistic function',[17] occurring as it does after the bishop has concluded the exorcism. A ritual breathing must either impart something, i.e. the Holy Spirit, or dispel something, i.e. Satan, and it does not seem possible to interpret this breathing apart from the ritual in which it is situated. If this exorcism marked the definitive break with Satan,

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[14] Riley, *Christian Initiation*, p. 81 n. 178.

[15] For example, Theodore of Alexandria wrote (*Ep.*1.6): 'As for the catechumens in the monasteries who are expecting the awesome remission of sins and the grace of the spiritual mystery, let them be taught by you that they must weep and lament their past sins and prepare themselves for the sanctification of their souls and bodies, so that they may bear the reception of the Lord Saviour's blood and body, the very thought of which is awesome' in A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia* (Kalamazoo, 1982), vol. 3, p. 124.

[16] Bradshaw, *Canons of Hippolytus*, p. 22.

[17] H.A. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism*, p. 87.

then one might expect the signing to be prophylactic and therefore the breathing to dispel the last traces of 'demons', or impart the spiritual strength to withstand any assaults during the night vigil; but because the candidates will later experience an exorcistic anointing this exorcism is not final. It is more likely that the breathing and signing form the completion of this *preparatory* ritual and that the breathing itself does have an exorcistic function, as it does in *Procat.*, even if, as Kelly states, 'it is not specifically indicated'. It is useful to note the duplication of exorcistic rituals in this rite even though we maintain that this exorcism before the vigil is preparatory and not part of the first primary structural unit.

In *CH*, the sequence of pre-immersion rituals seems to suggest that the blessing of oils, renunciation, anointing, and adherence took place after all the candidates had stripped, implying unprecedented levels of nudity. One wonders if the intention was not rather to bless the oils before the rite and then the candidates stripped to participate, one by one, in the renunciation and subsequent rituals. The naked candidates face West to utter the formula of renunciation; this orientation does not appear in *AT* 21, nor in *AC* 7, but does occur in *MC* 1. The formula, 'I renounce you Satan and all your service' (*CH* 19), is not explained and it would appear that, despite its brevity, this was indeed the formula and not an abbreviation of a longer one, as the very same formula is repeated in *CH* 10. That this renunciation is followed by an exorcistic anointing would seem to indicate that the candidates' own words do not free them from Satan and I would disagree again with Kelly who suggested, in relation to *AT*, that this second exorcistic rite was merely a 'dramatic recapitulation'[18]; rather, it is the final exorcistic ritual which will effect the definitive break with Satan. We are not told who is the minister of this ritual, but the candidates have been instructed to make the renunciation by the deacon[19], and it is the deacon who leads the candidates to the presbyter before whom they will make the adherence, even though the anointing is done by a presbyter and another officiates at the adherence.[20]

There is no change of location between the pre-immersion rituals and those which follow in *CH* 19, everything happens in the vicinity of the water, but the much later *Canonical Responses* of Timothy imply that the candidate makes the renunciation outside the baptistery:

> If a presbyter is by himself and has to administer baptism, how shall he follow the customary order? Should he perform the renunciation of the catechumen after consecrating the water of the laver of regeneration …? Or should he first perform the renunciation and then sanctify the Jordan, that is, the water of the font? Or even, shall he … not go out to the renunciation?[21]

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[18]  Ibid.

[19]  'If he comes with true faith, he is to be received with joy, questioned about his occupation, and instructed by the deacon. In this manner he is to be instructed in the Scriptures, so that he may renounce Satan and all his service', *CH* 10 (Bradshaw, *Canons of Hippolytus*, p. 17).

[20]  After the renunciation and anointing, 'He is handed over by a deacon to the presbyter who stands near the water', *CH* 19 (Bradshaw, *Canons of Hippolytus*, p. 22).

[21]  Timothy I of Alexandria (attr.), *CR* 2.8 (Whitaker, *Documents*, p. 128).

*MC* 1.2 also situates the renunciation in a separate location to the immersion, but any further correspondence between *CR* 2 and *MC* cannot be demonstrated. *CR* 2.8 does, though, support *CH's* description of the role of the different ministers in the rite.

If *CH* does indeed originate in Northern Egypt, should we expect to find a correspondence between it and the rite in Serapion? Here genre affects any comparison: *CH* is descriptive whereas *Ser.* is euchological; the latter contains what the former largely omits. *Ser.* provides two prayers which from their content and title may have been used in the final preparatory ceremonies and at the renunciation. Were we to insert *Ser.* 8, 'for those being baptized', into the sequence of *CH* 19, it would have occurred either at the 'final scrutiny' in the week before initiation, or at the exorcism on the eve of the initiation. Brightman, on the basis of the phrase '… that he is no longer to be led by anyone perverse or evil but always serves you …' suggested this prayer was exorcistic[22] and thus it should be part of the episcopal exorcism; but Barrett-Lennard did not consider it to be sufficiently explicit to function as an exorcism, 'The thrust of N.8 is on offering and a setting apart of the catechumens to and for God as they prepare to undergo the ceremonies.'[23] We can be no more certain than Johnson who presumed that it was recited at the end of the process of preparation.[24] *Ser.* 8 was most probably used in the context of a final scrutiny, or similar penultimate ceremony, but Brightman does have a point in that it is rather weak for a prayer of exorcism.

*Ser.* 9, 'A Prayer after the Renunciation', would seem to be just that, but it provides us with little information about what the candidate renounced. Barrett-Lennard interprets 'Almighty God, seal the promise of your servant', to refer directly to the rejection of Satan; the rest of the prayer expresses the desire that the candidate 'remains faithful in following the Christian lifestyle'.[25] Johnson suggested that the prayer may well have followed both the renunciation and adherence, 'For, in spite of the title of this prayer, which mentions only the renunciation, it is clear that some assent or *syntaxis* has been made already and it is this assent, not the renunciation, which the Lord is to "seal".'[26] Johnson does not speculate about the type of assent made by the candidate and it would rather seem to us from the petition 'that he may no longer serve evil ways', that the prayer has a greater connection with the renunciation than the adherence.

It is intriguing that in no other source is an episcopal prayer recited after the candidate has made the renunciation: in *CH* the sequence is uninterrupted by episcopal exclamations, indeed his role is passive; and in other provinces there is also silence on this matter. It is impossible to say whether the liturgy presumed by *Ser.* is remarkable in this respect or whether our other sources are deficient. It does raise, though, an interesting question about the extent to which candidates understood what was happening to them as they experienced the rituals. Mystagogy prior to initiation, as in West Syria, would have adequately prepared the candidate, but *MC*

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[22]  Brightman, 'Sacramentary': 100.
[23]  Barrett-Lennard, *Sacramentary of Sarapion*, p. 34n.
[24]  Johnson, *Prayers of Sarapion*, p. 130.
[25]  Barrett-Lennard, *Sacramentary of Sarapion*, p. 35n.
[26]  Johnson, *Prayers of Sarapion*, p. 133.

shows that this was not universal practice. The prayers of *Ser.* do in some sense provide the candidates with a theological rationale for the rituals they experience: *Ser.* 8 would have informed them that they had been 'set apart' for God, that they should not be 'led by anyone perverse or evil' and that they should serve and keep God's commandments; *Ser.* 9 that they had made a promise, become servants of God, turned away from evil and should henceforth worship and serve God. Rites which were preceded by mystagogy would probably not have required 'pedagogical prayers', and one might therefore speculate that Serapion's church had post-baptismal mystagogy, and that the liturgies of Jerusalem and Palestine might also have been embellished by prayers such as these. Unfortunately, such speculation cannot be corroborated by *CH*, which makes no reference to post-baptismal mystagogy, and may even refer to pre-baptismal instruction on the liturgy (*CH* 10).

*Comparing Egypt and Palestine*   The Westward facing renunciation in *CH*, which is not present in *AC* or *AT*, would seem to indicate a relationship between *CH* and *MC* which does not exist between *AC* and *MC*; although, in other respects, there is no correlation between the former in terms of posture and formula. As we have speculated tentatively above, something like the prayers of *Ser.* may have been used in Jerusalem to make the rituals comprehensible to the candidates as they underwent initiation.

*Summary conclusion: the renunciatory rituals*

As has been noted, the formulae for the renunciation exhibit similarities in content but not always in sequence. *MC's* list of Satan, works, pomp and service is identical in content to Chrysostom's*,* but in sequence it corresponds only to the first four of *AC* (which continues 'angels and all which reveals him'). The information from Egypt is not detailed enough to permit a fuller comparison and thus establishing connections between sees and provinces based upon the liturgical formula alone is not possible. When greater consideration is given to other elements of this unit, the position, posture and role of the candidate, the role of ministers, etc., then it becomes clear that *MC* is neither influenced by, nor has influenced, the ritual of renunciation in Antioch or Mopsuestia. Nevertheless, there are similarities with the Egyptian *CH* which concern the posture of the candidate (standing, facing West), the timing (immediately before the immersion), and possibly too the ministers (deacons or presbyters who do not immerse the candidates). The Westward orientation is very likely to have been imported into Jerusalem as this is not a natural liturgical action in the Holy Sepulchre complex, where to face West was to face the tomb of Christ. This understanding of the symbolism of East and West would appear to be independent of liturgical and architectural developments in fourth-century Jerusalem, and, as it does not appear in the West Syrian sources, may, I suggest, have its origins in Egypt.

### Rites Associated with a Confession of Faith Prior to Immersion

The second secondary structural unit in *MC* is the declaration of faith made by the candidate. The Fathers emphasise the importance of right belief and the catechetical process instilled in the candidates a thorough grounding in the articles of faith by the preacher or catechist, to which the candidates made an irreversible assent at their baptism.[27] Thus, in the provinces investigated here, instruction on the articles of a creed or another summary of faith precedes at least one declaration of that faith by the candidates prior to immersion.

That right belief at baptism was considered crucial is evident from discussions about the validity of the baptism of heretics: baptism administered and received by 'heretics' was invalid because the faith into which candidates were baptized was itself incorrect. Gregory Nazianzen is just one of those who expresses these concerns: 'If I worship a creature or if I were baptized into a creature, I would not thereby be deified nor would I transform my first birth.'[28] At the councils, the relation of heretical groups to the catholic church could be measured by the manner in which they administered baptism. Thus at Nicaea, followers of Paul of Samosata required unconditional rebaptism if they returned to the 'catholic church'.[29] At Constantinople, the return of those from other heterodox groups was regularised: Eunomians, Montanists and Sabellians were to be rebaptized, whereas those who were baptized with an unadulterated Trinitarian formula would simply be asked to anathematize their former beliefs and be chrismated.[30] Catechists issue severe warnings about falling into heresy: Chrysostom, when delivering the Creed, warns his catechumens, 'It is necessary to have these things firmly fixed in your mind so that you will not be overcome by demonic deceptions' (*Stav.* 1.22); and Cyril urges, 'I wish you to have this [creed] for the whole of your lifetime and to receive no other, even if we should change and contradict what we teach now.' (*Cat.* 5.12) Thus an accurate, that is 'orthodox', understanding of the faith into which the candidate was to be baptized is an aspect of the validity of the sacrament; the candidate is to enter a new contractual relationship with God in full command of the implications of the assent to that faith.

Much has been made of the injunctions to secrecy over the creed and articles of faith, which it is said relates to the established practice of the *disciplina arcani*. The concept of *disciplina arcani* has governed scholarly discussions of the creed and affirmations of faith used in initiation: it has been used, for example, to explain the absence of declaratory creeds and to assert that reference to a brief statement of adherence implies that such a creed was in fact recited, even though a source is silent on the matter.[31] Such conclusions do not do justice to the sources. Elsewhere, I have

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[27] For example, Chrysostom speaks of the contractual nature of the assent they will make at the adherence.

[28] Gregory Nazianzen, *On Baptism* 42. See also Basil of Caesarea, *On the Holy Spirit* 27–8.

[29] Nicaea, Canon 19, See Norman Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (2 vols. London, 1990), vol. 1, p. 15.

[30] Constantinople, Canon 7 (see Tanner, vol. 1, p. 35).

[31] J.N.D Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (3rd edn. London, 1972), p. 33.

argued that there was certainly no common mind as to the content of the 'secret', and bishops were as likely to speak openly of matters about which catechumens were enjoined to silence.[32] One reason for the injunction to secrecy was the fear of candidates receiving an alternative, i.e. heretical, explanation of the faith, hence Cyril's warning given above, and Chrysostom's interpretation of Eve in conversation with the serpent, who 'revealed the secret of the instruction and told him [the serpent] what God had said to them and thus received from him a different kind of advice, bringing ruin and death' (*Hom. on Genesis* 16.9).[33] Consequently, we warn against concluding that a brief statement of adherence in the pre-immersion rite is shorthand for a declaratory creed with recourse to the *disciplina arcani*.

There is a distinction to be made between a declaratory creed, such as that which forms the basis for catechesis in Jerusalem and Mopsuestia, and a short statement of faith made as a counterpart to the renunciation formula. It is this latter which can properly be called the 'adherence' but its relationship to the credal declaration should not be overlooked. The brevity of the adherence presupposes in many cases instruction on and/or recitation of the declaratory creed during the period of preparation; and although the recitation of the creed may form part of the penultimate ceremonies which permit a candidate to proceed to baptism, it is only one part of these. The adherence, on the other hand, occurs after the candidates have made a binding renunciation of Satan and sin and thus is the point at which they give themselves to Christ; this may occur before entering the font or in the water. Sources in which an adherence is followed by a further confession of faith in the font might well be considered to over-egg the cake. The purpose of such 'duplication' will need to be examined in light of the author's purpose, the relationship between the two confessions of faith and any implication this may have for the role of the minister.

The following questions could be asked of the sources concerning the type of confession of faith required of the candidates: Is a long declaratory creed learned by candidates and recited to the bishop or his deputy? Is the adherence a statement of submission to Christ, or a declaration of belief? If the latter, is the adherence made by declaratory creed, brief statement or interrogation? Do the candidates repeat words given to them, or recite from memory? What is the relationship of the adherence to the secondary structural units which surround it? Is a further confession of faith required in the font?

### Jerusalem and Palestine

During the final catechetical lecture, Cyril asks the catechumens to recite *with him* the creed which they had learned during Lent (*Cat.* 18.21), but he says nothing about any further declaration of faith to be made as part of the initiation rite itself. Egeria (*It.Eg.* 45.6) described a final scrutiny where the creed was recited by each candidate individually to the bishop, and she also provided no further information about confessions of faith made during the initiation rite itself. Given that the catechetical syllabus remained unchanged in Jerusalem between Cyril's *Cats* and the early fifth

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[32]  Day, '*Disciplina arcani*': 266–70.

[33]  Hill, *John Chrysostom* (FoC, vol. 74) p. 212.

century, because the same lections appear in *AL*, it is reasonably likely that the recipients of *MC* also recited the creed during the final pre-baptismal catechetical lecture. This is supplemented in the rite by two further confessions of faith: first, the adherence proper, a statement of belief; and a three-fold interrogation from the font.

The adherence immediately follows the renunciation and is made in the porch of the baptistery presumably to the same minister. The candidates remain standing but now turn East, which the author explains:

> When therefore you renounce Satan, breaking underfoot all covenant with him … there is opened to you the paradise of God, which was planted in the East … And a sign of this is your turning from the West to the East, to the place of light. (*MC* 1.9)

They are then asked to repeat the formula of adherence which was an extended Trinitarian formula: 'I believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Spirit and in the baptism of repentance' (*MC* 1.9). Unlike the renunciation which was repeated clause by clause, the adherence would appear to have been said as a complete sentence, presumably its contents were familiar enough to be remembered.

J.N.D. Kelly assumed that this was not the complete declaration of faith:

> We may confidently surmise that this represents an abridgement of the more detailed formula which St Cyril [*sic*] had commented on clause by clause, but which he may have felt some compunction about setting down.[34]

He arrived at this conclusion by conflating the evidence of *Cats*, *MC* and *It.Eg.*, a methodology we have rejected, and by assuming that the author is sensitive to the *disciplina arcani*. The latter is highly unlikely in a series of lectures containing other information which the author should certainly have had 'some compunction about setting down', parts of the eucharistic prayer, for example. Further, the author indicates that the words of the adherence were given to the candidates who then repeated them; the creed they were expected to have memorized during Lent and so there would be no need for a prompt. Thirdly, the author explains that he will not discuss the formula in detail because such things 'were told to you in depth in the preceding catechesis …' (*MC* 1.9); he makes no apologies for the brevity of the formula.

The first two secondary structural units parallel each other in such a way as to demonstrate their connectedness: they take place in the same location; they each have a mystagogy about orientation, demonstrating that the action of the second supersedes the first; structurally each have four clauses separated by *kai* (which further makes it unlikely that the candidates recited the creed); and lastly, after citing the adherence, the author concludes the first lecture by suggesting that it too serves as protection against Satan (*MC* 1.10). One might assume that at this stage the candidates had removed all impediments to being baptized and that the change of allegiance had been effected, but these secondary structural units are followed by an exorcistic anointing and an interrogatory profession of faith in the font which would

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[34]  J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, p. 33.

seem to replicate that which has been achieved by the renunciation and adherence. Might this hint at some evolution in the initiation rite of Jerusalem? The renunciation and adherence relate to each other so intimately that it is unlikely one of these units would be introduced without the other. Similarly, although the connections between the exorcistic anointing and the interrogatory profession of faith are less explicit, their position in the sequence of the rite would seem to place them together. Might it be that the renunciation and adherence were added at the beginning of an existing hagiopolite initiation rite which had not yet been re-arranged to take account of what was achieved by these new preliminary rituals? This might also be supported by the West-East orientation for the renunciation and adherence, the mystagogy of which does not suit the orientation of the Holy Sepulchre complex. This, of course, is speculation as the scant evidence for an earlier Jerusalem rite makes it difficult to prove, but the examination of these units in relation to those which follow permits, at least, the suggestion to be made.

In Gaza, we know that catechumens received instruction (*V.Porph.* 31; 74; 91; 100) but not its content, nor how it related to the initiation rite, and *V.Porph.* provides no information about the adherence. The monastic biographies mention those converted by the monks, but only in the account of Moses of Raithou is there a possible reference to a confession of faith prior to immersion: in the conversion of the Pharanites, Ammonius says that 'they believed in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit and they were convinced to take Holy Baptism'.[35] The sequence here is confession of faith and then immersion: the expanded Trinitarian formula of adherence is similar to *MC* 1.9.

*The Syrian sources*

The Syrian sources note the importance of the declaratory creed as the basis of catechesis, which the candidates memorized and recited prior to initiation; however the adherence in this province has a two-fold character consisting of a declaration of submission to Christ, the counterpart to the renunciation, followed by an extended statement of Trinitarian faith.

In *AC* 7, the profession of faith follows the renunciation directly and has this double character. The candidate submits to Christ, 'I attach myself to you O Christ' and then immediately continues with a credal confession of faith, 'I believe and am baptized in the one unbegotten, only true God, etc…' (*AC* 7.41, 3–8). We concluded above that, in Jerusalem, the declaratory creed was used for catechesis only and not in the initiation rite and so, although Metzger suggested a possible hagiopolite origin for certain articles in this creed,[36] Jerusalem clearly did not provide the model for using it at this stage. The candidates were expected to have learned the words of the adherence (*AC* 7.40, 1) and were not prompted (*AC* 7.41,3). Again, as with

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[35]  Ammonius, *Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert*, in C. Müller-Kessler and M. Sokoloff, *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert; Eulogius, the Stone-Cutter and Anastasia* (Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic vol. III. Groningen, 1996), p. 25.

[36]  Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques* (SChr 320), p. 29.

the renunciation, there is no indication of who heard the candidates' declaration, nor what posture was adopted for it.

The adherence in Antioch, evidenced by both *AC* 7 and Chrysostom, was not a statement of belief, as *MC* 1, but a declaration of submission to Christ. We discussed above the posture adopted by Chrysostom's candidates for the renunciation, and there is no indication that they have changed either posture or orientation for the adherence. *Stav.* 2.21 and *P-K* 3.6 give an identical formula, 'I attach myself to you O Christ', and place it immediately after the renunciation, but only in *Stav.* 2 are the candidates prompted with these words.

In *Stav.* 1.21–23, Chrysostom does not give the candidates a creed but explains the articles of faith in a manner which is likely to be based upon one already received by them; he implies that the candidates were to learn the creed and that they would be expected to recite it. Although no occasion for recitation appears in *Stav.*, Wenger proposed that *P-K* 3.3 alludes to such:[37] 'That is why today our discourse is called "faith", and we command you to say nothing else until the time that you shall say, "I believe".' Both Wenger and Piédagnel suggest that Chrysostom refers to a recitation of the creed before the bishop after the final catechetical lecture on Holy Thursday, but they also suggest that this may have been supplemented by yet another recitation after the adherence, be it on Good Friday or Holy Saturday.[38]

Wenger and Piédagnel have suggested that the adherence was followed directly by a recitation of the creed, as *AC* 7, and that there was a further possibly interrogatory profession immediately before the immersion.[39] In *Hom. 40 on 1 Corinthians* delivered in Antioch probably in 392,[40] Chrysostom reminds his listeners that

> after the enunciation of those mystical and fearful words, and the awful rules of the doctrines which have come down from heaven, this also we add at the end when we are about to baptize, bidding them say, 'I believe in the resurrection of the dead' and upon this faith we are baptized. For after we have confessed this together with the rest, then at last we are let down into the fountain of those sacred streams. (*Hom. on 1 Corinthians* 40)[41]

Piédagnel saw in these words an allusion to the sequence of the rite: the 'mystical and fearful words' are the adherence; the 'awful rules of the doctrines' the recitation of the creed; and lastly, at the moment of baptism the candidate made yet another brief profession of faith concluded by an article concerning the resurrection of the dead, which does not appear in the creed of either Nicaea or Constantinople.[42] In

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[37] Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 93.

[38] Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, pp. 93–4; Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 63. Finn (*Liturgy of Baptism*, p. 111) places the recitation of the creed after the adherence on Good Friday.

[39] Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 95; Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 63. See also Finn, *Liturgy of Baptism*, p. 151.

[40] Following the consensus about date and provenance presented by Mayer (*Homilies of St John Chrysostom*, p. 258 and p. 267).

[41] T.W. Chambers, *The Homilies of Saint John Chrysostom … on the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians* (NPNF 1st series, vol. 12. Oxford, 1889), p. 244.

[42] Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 63 n. 44.

*Stav.* 2.26, after referring to the immersion with the Trinitarian formula, Chrysostom says, 'Therefore it is the faith in this [the Trinity] which gives us grace for the forgiveness of sins, this very confession confers the adoption'. Piédagnel noted that Chrysostom here uses '*pistis*' and '*homologia*' as technical terms and concluded that this would seem to indicate that 'a new and brief confession of faith was made … by the candidate at the moment of his baptism',[43] whereas Wenger considered it to refer to an interrogatory profession of faith.[44] Harkins certainly goes too far in suggesting that, 'it may well be that he (the bishop) led the catechumens in the triple recitation of the Creed which is found in the *Ordo* of Constantinople'.[45]

The candidates prepared by Chrysostom's catechetical lectures concluded their instruction by a recitation of the creed on Holy Thursday and/or after the adherence, but we are also asked to consider that a further profession of faith was required immediately before entering the font.[46] In *P-K* 3.8, however, there is no indication of any such ritual between the pre-immersion anointing and the immersion, which is curious considering that it is this series which provides evidence for a separation of the first two pre-immersion units from the rest of the rite by over 24 hours; one might well expect that a supplementary profession would serve as a reminder to these candidates, particularly, of the faith into which they were about to be baptized.

Theodore, like Cyril of Jerusalem, explained the creed article by article to his catechumens, but the ritual of adherence in Mopsuestia is closer to Antioch than Jerusalem with a submission type adherence and a declaration of Trinitarian faith undertaken in the same posture as the renunciation. The adherence immediately follows the renunciation and the candidates are prompted to make the declaration, '… I pledge myself by vow, I believe, I am baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'[47] (*Hom.* 2.5; 13-15). The adherence would appear to begin in an identical way to that of *AC* 7.41, although the brief Trinitarian formula may demonstrate the importance of the prior recitation of the creed to the bishop, the repetition of which was not required.

*Comparing Syria and Palestine*   Wenger, Harkins and Finn assume an identity with the Jerusalem rite which is not borne out by the evidence presented from the Antiochene sources. Harkins, assumed that, because in *MC* the candidates face West and East for the renunciation – adherence sequence, so they must also have done in Antioch, even though there is no evidence for a change in posture.[48] Finn, on the same basis, also suggested an Eastward adherence[49] and he saw a parallel between the recitation of the creed in Antioch on Good Friday and its recitation in

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[43]  Ibid., p. 63.

[44]  Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 95.

[45]  P.W. Harkins, 'Pre-Baptismal Rites in Chrysostom's Baptismal Catecheses', *SP*, 8 (1966): 234. For the confession of faith in the *Ordo of Constantinople* see Barbarini Codex gr. 336, section 143.

[46]  So Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 95 and Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 64.

[47]  *AIRI*, p. 170.

[48]  Harkins, 'Pre-Baptismal Rites': 233.

[49]  Finn, *Liturgy of Baptism*, p. 107.

Cyril's *Cat.* 18.33[50] even though the Jerusalem recitation did not have a liturgical context. As we have seen, though, the rituals of adherence in this province are quite unlike those of *MC*, but they do show remarkable similarities to each other. Despite some ambiguities over whether there was a recitation of the creed at the end of Chrysostom's catechetical lectures, all three Syrian sources witness to a submission-type adherence followed by some sort of declaration of faith; this is quite unlike the extended Trinitarian formula of the adherence and the absence of any credal profession in the rite of initiation itself in *MC*. Common, too, to these sources is the lack of a change of posture and orientation between the renunciation and adherence, again unlike *MC*. *P-K* 3 shows how this part of the rite came to be seen as the culmination of the period of preparation, rather than preliminary to the baptism itself; in Jerusalem no such separation occurred, even though both churches must have experienced similar increases in the numbers presenting themselves for baptism. In every respect, the West Syrian rituals of adherence are dissimilar to *MC* and were the renunciation and adherence sequence an addition to the Jerusalem rite, it cannot have been imported from Antioch or Mopsuestia.

*The Egyptian sources*

In *CH* an anointing with exorcized oil separates the renunciation and adherence; the sequence of *MC* which establishes our order of secondary structural units means that this has to be discussed in the next section, but it is as well to note here that this anointing concludes the renunciation and does not reinforce the adherence. After the anointing, the candidate is

> handed over by a deacon to the presbyter who stands by the water. A presbyter holds his right hand and makes him to turn his face towards the east, near the water. Before going down into the water, his face towards the east and standing near the water, he says this after having received the oil of exorcism: 'I believe, and I submit myself to you and to all your service, O Father, Son and Holy Spirit'. (*CH* 19)[51]

*CH* is rare in providing instructions about the ministers responsible for each part of the rite, and here the presbyter who administers the water rite ensures that the candidates face the right direction either by verbal instruction or by physically turning them, but no reference to prompting the formula is made. Although the Eastward orientation is similar to *MC*, in the latter there is no change of location; indeed it is only after the adherence in Jerusalem that the candidates may enter the baptistery.[52] The formula given here seems to combine both a submission and a declaration of faith; the statement of Trinitarian faith, rather than a declaratory creed, shows some similarity to *MC* 1.

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[50]  Ibid., p. 111.

[51]  Bradshaw, *Canons of Hippolytus*, p. 22.

[52]  Bradshaw, in his notes to Bebawi's translation, says, 'In common with Syrian custom, *CH* includes an 'Act of Adhesion' or *syntaxis* made facing east prior to baptism …' (*Canons of Hippolytus*, p. 22n); however, we have seen above that the Eastward orientation is found only in *MC*, and not in the Syrian sources of the fourth and early fifth centuries.

Above we discussed whether Johnson had a case for suggesting that *Ser.* 9 was prayed after the candidates had made both the renunciation and adherence and found that the force of the prayer connected it more closely to the renunciation. There is, therefore, no information concerning the adherence or any profession of faith in *Ser.*

The *Dêr-Balyzeh* papyrus provides what its editors have concluded is a baptismal confession of faith, based on the rubric and its similarity to Ethiopic and Sahidic *AT*.[53] On the last page after approximately 15 missing lines, it reads:

> Confess the faith!
> I believe in God, the Father, maker of all things, and in his only begotten Son and in the Holy Spirit and in the resurrection of the flesh and in the holy catholic church.[54]

If this is indeed an adherence, it is unusual compared with our other sources by having what appears to be a diaconal instruction; in *MC* 1.9 and in Chrysostom's *Stav.* 2.21 the candidate repeats the formula following the prompt given by the minister. There is no element of submission in this formula and the expanded Trinitarian statement of faith, which does not appear to be shorthand for the entire creed, does not have a complete parallel in other texts.

*Comparing Egypt and Palestine*    The Jerusalem adherence is a confession of faith and not a submission to Christ, which is what one finds in *Dêr-Balyzeh*. Closer in terms of ritual action is *CH*, where the candidate is turned to face East although to utter a formula which is both a profession and an adherence. That both these Egyptian sources give a Trinitarian declaration of faith but not a creed, demonstrates a similarity with *MC* which is not found in the West Syrian sources.

*Summary conclusion: the confession of faith*

The creed might be learned by heart and then recited individually or *en masse*, within a liturgical setting or as part of the catechetical lecture. A further statement of belief might be required in conjunction with the renunciation of Satan. This 'adherence' might be elicited from the candidate by questions, it might be a statement of faith or of allegiance to Christ. The adherence might include a declaratory creed and additionally a further statement of faith might be elicited from the candidate in the font. The variations between provinces demonstrate that, unlike the renunciation, there was no growing consensus about what was required of the candidates in this part of the rite.

The adherence in *MC* is a confession of faith in the Trinity, made immediately after the renunciation and before an anointing at the start of the liturgy of initiation, of which it is an integral part. The West Syrian sources have a two-fold adherence consisting of a statement of submission followed by a declaration of faith, made in the same posture as the renunciation; these therefore are quite different from *MC*.

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[53] '*omologei t n pistin* est une rubrique proprement baptismale, classique en Egypte', Roberts and Capelle, *An Early Euchologium*, p. 59.

[54] Roberts and Capelle, *An Early Euchologium*, p. 32.

Closer to *MC* are those of Egypt, where we find a declaration of faith in the Trinity, and in *CH* an identical orientation for the adherence. We have tentatively suggested in concluding our discussion of *MC*, that the renunciation and adherence sequence may be an addition to an existing Jerusalem initiation rite, and if so then the only possible source for this is Egypt or a document close to *CH*.

## The Pre-Immersion Anointing

Gabrielle Winkler indicated how a shift in the narrative of an initiation rite might cause a transformation of the function of primary and secondary units, in her suggestion that where Pauline death-mystery was dominant, the pre-immersion rituals took on exorcistic, apotropaic or prophylactic emphases; these supplanted the primitive understanding of the anointing as an imitation of Christ's own anointing as priest-king at the Jordan event, through the descent of Holy Spirit, in continuation of Old Testament kingly anointings.[55] This innovation she locates first in the Mediterranean coastal areas of Syro-Palestine, illustrated by *MC*, Chrysostom and Theodore, whilst noting that the Syrian hinterland was much slower in adopting such a theology and its ritualization. Prior to such changes, she asserts, the rites had only one anointing before immersion, which, in these rites, was the central event, but

> Once the preparatory rites assumed a predominantly cathartic and exorcistic character, attaining at the same time the indispensable condition for the reception of the Spirit, it was unthinkable to maintain a prebaptismal anointing with which the gift of the Spirit was associated. Only when the catechumen was thoroughly cleansed and his sins washed away could the Spirit enter his heart.[56]

A post-immersion anointing was therefore introduced by which the Spirit was conveyed.

Sebastian Brock has also suggested that there was a transfer of the original meaning of the pre-immersion anointing to the water and then to the post immersion anointing in his discussion of the Syrian evidence.[57] He notes the move away from the identification of the *rushma* as a mark of ownership, the equivalent of Jewish circumcision, caused by hellenistic interpretations of anointing as protective and cathartic and by a change in imagery:

> At the end of the fourth century, however, Christ's baptism becomes the conceptual model for the baptismal rite *as a whole*, and attention is now paid to the fact that the Holy Spirit only appeared after Christ had gone up from the water.[58]

In such a scheme the positive affects of the anointing are transferred to the water, but then with the incorporation of Romans typology and identification of the font with

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[55] Winkler, 'Original Meaning': 24–45.

[56] Ibid.: 40.

[57] Sebastian Brock, 'The Transition to a Post-Baptismal Anointing in the Antiochene Rite', in Bryan Spinks (ed.), *The Sacrifice of Praise* (Rome, 1981), p. 220.

[58] Ibid., p. 221.

the grave not in evidence in the Syrian sources until Theodore, 'the way is open for the introduction of a post-baptismal anointing to take over these positive elements that formerly belonged to the *rushma*'.[59]

In the discussion of the sources which follows we will need to be attentive to shifts in the dominant typology and their impact upon the conduct and interpretation of the pre-immersion anointing; these are interrelated issues and it is obvious that the mere presence of an anointing at this stage is not a sufficient indicator of a relationship of influence.

### Jerusalem and Palestine

Winkler described *MC* as 'The clearest expression for the complete change of the prebaptismal anointing …';[60] and so in assessing the source of possible influences upon and by *MC*, we will need to examine how far the Jerusalem rite has moved away from a presumed 'primitive' pattern and whether any other rites were similarly affected.

Cyril does not refer to an anointing either before or after the immersion, however his constant references to the seal and sealing in connection with baptism give a strong indication that mid-fourth-century Jerusalem did anoint the candidates as part of the preliminary rituals. Cyril uses 'seal' in a number of different ways:[61] in general terms to denote the effect of the whole rite (*Cat.* 3.4); as protection from evil through sealing with the Cross (*Cat.* 4.14), although this is not exclusive to the initiation rite; as a sign of ownership (*Cat.* 1.2); as a Christian counterpart to circumcision (*Cat.* 5.6). By themselves, these uses of 'seal' do not prove that there was an anointing, but when we compare them to references in other Syrian sources where 'seal' explicitly denotes the anointing then we find very close parallels with Cyril's understanding. Thus, in *AC* 3.16, 3–4 there is a pre-immersion anointing for the Spirit by which the candidates become Christian, and in *AC* 7.22 there is a connection between a confession of faith and the seal which we have found in *Cat.* 5.6. Chrysostom describes a seal given with oil in the form of a cross which will dispel demons; and in Theodore it is a sign of ownership. Further afield, for Ephrem the oil indicates ownership by and identification with Christ, and the Holy Spirit.[62] The criteria for inferring the presence of a liturgical element where the sources are lacking, which we discussed in chapter 1, would seem to be fulfilled here and it is, therefore, more than probable that mid-fourth-century Jerusalem had a pre-immersion anointing understood as a seal and administered with the sign of the cross.

*MC*, by contrast does not use the language of seal and sealing, except on a single occasion with reference to the post-immersion anointing (*MC* 4.1) and the pre-immersion anointing carries none of the meanings which we have found in *Cats*. *MC* 2 recalls what happened to the candidates when they entered the baptistery and

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[59] Ibid., p. 222.

[60] Winkler, 'Original Meaning': 41.

[61] See Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue*, pp. 130–143. He relies heavily on Lampe's categorizations of 'seal'. G.W.H Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit* (London, 1951), p. 235ff.

[62] See Ephrem, *Hymn on Virginity* 7.

experienced the pre-immersion anointing and the immersion. Riley concluded from the change of location and 'a sufficiently long time lapse' that, as in Antioch, the pre-immersion anointing is preparatory to the immersion and not a conclusion to the renunciation and adherence which preceded it.[63] *MC*, though, does not indicate any 'long time lapse' between these elements and the change of location was merely from the porch of the baptistery into the building itself, with the time lapse dependent upon the candidate's place in the queue not, as in Antioch (*P-K* 3.4), a separation of 24 hours and a move from church to baptistery. Neither can it be argued that this anointing is connected more closely to the immersion because it is explained in the second mystagogical lecture, since the chrismation has a lecture to itself even though it too was administered inside the baptistery.

This movement into the baptistery was a practical measure to preserve modesty as once inside the candidates stripped. Cyril never mentions nakedness in *Cats*, but in *MC* it carries a developed mystagogy: the candidates fulfill Paul's injunction to 'put off the old man with his deeds' (Colossians 3:9-10; *MC* 2.2.); they imitate Christ naked on the Cross in preparation for their symbolic dying with Him in the font; and they 'bore the likeness of the first-formed Adam who was naked in Paradise and was not ashamed' (*MC* 2.2). The return to Paradise is only a minor theme in *MC*, but it does feature in Cyril's lectures (*Cat.* 1.4; *Procat.* 15) and thus may well have been an aspect of traditional teaching on baptism in Jerusalem. In contrast to *Procat.* 14 where men and women are instructed to sit separately during the exorcisms and for catechesis, *MC* does not refer to the separation of the sexes for the rituals conducted when naked. There is silence in the Palestinian sources about deaconesses[64] who have been presumed to assist with women candidates in other provinces;[65] this would seem to indicate that there were none, and indeed *MC* 2.2 does say that the candidates were 'naked in the sight of all and … did not blush'.

Once naked, they 'were anointed with exorcised oil from the top of the hairs of your head to the bottom' (*MC* 2.3). Their whole body is anointed, presumably by pouring the oil on the head of the candidate; the lack of reference to the anointing of particular senses would also point to a general and indiscriminate pouring of the oil. There is no mention of making the sign of the cross: given that the dominant typology of *MC* is Christ's death and resurrection, one might expect such a signing to have been made explicit.

That an explanation on the nature and function of this oil was required would seem to indicate that this was the first time they had been anointed in connection with exorcism. The oil (*to eporkiston elaion*) was ordinary olive oil which had received 'such very great power by prayer' (*MC* 2.3), presumably beforehand as there is no

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[63] Riley, *Christian Initiation*, p. 26.

[64] Eusebius (*The Martyrs of Palestine* 6.7) refers to consecrated virgins but not to deaconesses; *V.Porph.* has no deaconesses in Gaza; none are mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis; none in Palestine in the church histories and biographies; Egeria mentions one, but not in Palestine; Epiphanius refers to them in *Against Heresies* 79,3, but these may be Cypriot.

[65] For Antioch, see *AC* 3.16 where they are specifically mentioned; Wenger (*Jean Chrysostome*, p. 93) assumes they assisted in the rites described by Chrysostom even though he is silent on the matter.

reference to the consecration of any elements in *MC* 1-3. The oil functions as an exorcist:

> For just as the breathing of the saints and the calling upon the name of God … burns and drives away demons, so this exorcized oil invokes God and receives such very great power by prayer, so as not only to purify, burning away the trace of sinfulness, but also to drive away all the invisible powers of the evil one. (*MC* 2.3)

The neophytes are told that the oil invoked God and replaced the exorcists' invocation of God, but there is no suggestion of what words accompanied the ritual. The adherence had been dealt with in a cursory manner as the content was presumed to be familiar to the neophytes, but the anointing, like the renunciation, is explained more fully indicating that its significance was not immediate. They are reminded of the Lenten exorcisms as a way of relating this action to something which they had experienced but, without any indication of what words accompanied the administration of the oil, we cannot be sure that the candidates understood the exorcistic significance of the oil as it was administered. It is therefore possible that the latter part of *MC* 2.3 is a paraphrase of the words at its administration, asking God by it to purify the candidate by burning away every trace of sinfulness and driving away the invisible powers of the evil one, or perhaps there may have been something similar to *Ser.* 15 (see below).

A decisive exorcistic anointing occurring after the adherence calls into question the candidates' ability to renounce Satan and attach themselves to Christ by their own efforts. If this anointing 'completed' or 'sealed' the renunciation then we could expect it to be positioned immediately after the renunciation, but its administration after the adherence interrupts the logical sequence of an otherwise carefully explained rite; a further indication that *MC* hints at a revision of the pre-immersion rituals in Jerusalem. The anointing is the final and decisive act against evil and *MC* does not refer again to demonic influence. This is in contrast to *Cats* where the pre-immersion rituals are not exorcistic and Cyril speaks of the baptismal water effecting the removal of sin (*Cat.* 3.12). Does this indicate that as the Jerusalem church developed her baptismal theology additional preparatory rites were introduced to make explicit the break with sin and the devil, as the immersion could no longer carry this meaning?

There is no explicit reference to a pre-immersion anointing in other Palestinian sources. Where they mention a 'signing with the cross', the action seems to accompany a conversion and denote enrolment as a catechumen and has no connection with the baptism rite itself.[66]

### The Syrian sources

We have already seen the remarkable similarity between these sources with regard to the two previous secondary structural units, and the pre-immersion anointings also

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[66]  This is a revision of my conclusions in *BEBP* (p. 32) where I suggested that Euthymius' signing of Terebôn (*V. Euthym.* 18) 'functioned as a pre-baptismal exorcistic anointing'. The signing is exorcistic in that it accompanies a healing, but is not immediately connected with the baptism of Aspébetus' tribe and therefore should not be construed as indicating an anointing.

display considerable convergence which distinguish them from the Palestinian and Egyptian sources. Here there are *two* pre-immersion anointings: the first immediately follows the declaration of adherence, and the second immediately precedes the immersion, regardless of the time delay (in the case of *P-K*) and of any possible supplementary declaration of faith. Brock sees the presence of both as a duplication of what originally would have been just one anointing at this point.[67]

This double pre-immersion anointing occurs in only one of the three accounts in *AC*; there being only a single anointing in the two descriptions in *AC* 7. Metzger noted that in *AC* 3 it serves to make the candidate a Christian and is the sign of the Holy Spirit, but that in *AC* 7.42 it is connected with the forgiveness of sins and preparation for the confession of faith.[68] Despite the presence of a post-immersion anointing in all three accounts and of the use of Romans typology for the immersion, the meaning of the pre-immersion anointing has not been transformed in the way we find in *MC*;[69] thus in *AC* 3, we find a pre-immersion anointing for the Holy Spirit, an immersion explained in terms of Romans 6 (*AC* 3.17,1), as well as a post-immersion anointing (*AC* 3.16,4).

There is a sacramental pre-immersion anointing in *AC* 3 which is reserved for the bishop, but it appears to be preceded by two others performed by deacons and deaconesses. Thus, 'first, in the illumination of the women, the deacon chrismates them with holy oil upon the forehead only, after which the deaconess anoints them …' (*AC* 3.16,2).[70] It is unclear whether this double anointing is only applied to women out of concern for modesty, or whether men were also anointed first on the head and then the body. The purpose of this first anointing is not made clear and interestingly there is no distinction in the type of oil used by lesser clergy and that used by the bishop. The next pre-immersion anointing in *AC* 3 is understood as a continuation of the Old Testament anointing kings and prophets, and it bestows the Holy Spirit:

> But the bishop only chrismates the head by the imposition of hands, as formerly kings and priests were anointed … but since Christ there are Christians, a royal priesthood and a holy people, the church of God … .(*AC* 3.16,3)

The 'holy oil' must be administered by the bishop, and not deacons or deaconesses, and is applied only to the head and is for the baptism of the Holy Spirit (*AC* 3.16,4). This is immediately followed by the immersion, which may be delegated.

*AC* 7.22,2 describes one pre-immersion anointing and one post-immersion anointing: 'You chrismate first with holy oil, then baptize in water, and finally seal with *myron*, such that the chrism is participation in the Holy Spirit, the water is the symbol of death and the *myron* seals the contracts' (*AC* 7.22,2). This is a quite unusual distribution of functions to the different anointings; as we have seen so far

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[67] Brock, 'Transition', p. 216.

[68] Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques* (SChr 329), p. 93.

[69] Varghese, *Les Onctions Baptismales*, p. 112.

[70] In the *Didascalia*, upon which *AC* 3 is based, the order of the anointings is reversed: first the bishop on the head and then of the whole body by a deacon or deaconess prior to immersion.

in relation to *MC* and as will become evident throughout this section, where there are two anointings in a rite, the first which follows either the renunciation or adherence is connected to one or the other, but here it is the post-immersion anointing which seems to relate to the change of allegiance and the pre-immersion anointing which bestows the Holy Spirit. Although this account of an initiation rite would seem close to *MC* structurally, functionally it is not, and this anointing is similar to that administered by the bishop in *AC* 3.

The third description of a pre-immersion anointing occurs in *AC* 7.42: the bishop blesses the oil immediately after the adherence, presumably in front of those who were about to be anointed by it, but it does not say who is to administer this anointing. It is described as serving a dual purpose, 'for the remission of sins and a preparation for baptism' (*AC* 7.42,2), indicating that it functions as a hinge in the rite enabling the liturgical action to move between the two primary structural units. Only in the paraphrased blessing, however, do we see how it might also relate to the immediately preceding declaration of adherence and profession of faith:

> He calls upon the unbegotten God, the Father of Christ, the King of all sensible and reasonable nature, so that He might sanctify the oil in the name of Christ Jesus and might give spiritual grace and effective power, the remission of sins and preparation for the baptismal confession [of faith], so that the one who is anointed, being freed from all impiety, may become worthy of initiation according to the command of the Unbegotten. (*AC* 7.42,3)

Metzger assumed that this was an exorcistic anointing like that in *MC*,[71] but, although we are told that it is for the remission of sins, there is no reference to Satan and it is as much concerned with what is achieved by the rite as a whole, rather than any individual element of it.

The Antiochene rite described by Chrysostom has no post-immersion anointing, but two pre-immersion anointings. Both series agree about the position and function of these anointings in the liturgy: the first immediately follows the adherence (*Stav.* 2.22; *P-K* 3.7)[72] and the second immediately precedes the candidates' entry into the font (*Stav.* 2.24–5; *P-K* 3.7–8.) despite the different time-scale operating in each series.

*Stav.* 2.22 describes the first anointing thus: '… he (the minister) anoints you on the forehead with spiritual *myron*, makes the sign and says, "x is anointed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit"'. Although Chrysostom only speaks here of the *sphragis*, he strongly implies that a cross is signed on the candidates' foreheads, because, as in Cyril's *Cats*, '… for this reason he [the minister] anoints you on the forehead and makes the sign, so that the other will avert his eyes' (*Stav.* 2.23). In *P-K*, however, there is no instruction about the administration of this anointing except to state expressly that the sign of the cross was made: after the preceding rites, 'straightaway, he commands that you be signed upon your forehead,

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[71]  Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques* (SChr 336), p. 101 n. 42.

[72]  Finn (*Liturgy of Baptism*, p. 121) refuted the hesitancy of Wenger (*Jean Chrysostome*, p. 146 n. 1) and Harkins ('Pre-Baptismal Rites': 18) about placing this anointing immediately after the adherence .

he makes the [sign of] cross' (*P-K* 3.7). Both Wenger and Piédagnel are obliged to add the name of a minister to their translations; it is nowhere stated that this anointing is reserved to the bishop, even though both assert that it was.[73]

Both *Stav.* and *P-K* relate the first anointing to what has been achieved by the renunciation and adherence, and anticipate the candidates' new role fighting Satan: '… like a soldier enrolled for the spiritual arena, he anoints you on the forehead with spiritual *myron* …' (*Stav.* 2.22).[74] This is evident from the preservation of this anointing with the renunciation and adherence when the former were moved to Good Friday afternoon.[75] H. Benedict Green considered the first anointing to be 'a final act of exorcism',[76] however this is unlikely given that Chrysostom says that they have already been liberated from Satan: '… the enemy is enraged … seeing those who were formerly subject to his tyranny struggling against him and turning away from him …' (*Stav.* 2.23).[77] It is better described as prophylactic, with protection received by the sign of the cross, rather than by any properties inherent in the chrism.

An identical Trinitarian formula to that recited at the immersion accompanies the anointing and Chrysostom emphasizes that it is sacramental, 'but it is not a man, but God who anoints you through the priest's hands …' (*P-K* 3.7). This distinguishes it from the second pre-immersion anointing, but unlike the more explicitly sacramental post-immersion anointing of *MC* it is not connected in any way with the gift of the Holy Spirit. We can, though, infer that the oil had probably been blessed with a prayer in which the Spirit was invoked as Chrysostom describes it as 'spiritual chrism' (*Stav.* 2.22) and spiritual oil (*Stav.* 2.24); it had not been exorcized. The oil, clearly described as chrism, had been prepared thus: 'the chrism is oil and myrrh (*myron*) together, the myrrh is like a bride and the oil as an athlete' (*P-K* 3.7). Despite using *t chrisma* and *chri*, Chrysostom does not interpret this anointing as a means by which the candidates are identified with Christ, unlike *MC* (3.1–2). This first anointing then is in almost every respect unlike that administered after the adherence in *MC* 2: it is not exorcistic; it is applied specifically to the forehead in the form of a cross; chrism is used.

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[73] Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 146 n. 1. Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 53.

[74] Riley (*Christian Initiation*, p. 113) also relates this anointing to the renunciation and adherence.

[75] Varghese (*Les Onctions Baptismales*, p. 81 n. 4) disputes that the first anointing in *P-K* occurred on Good Friday afternoon: 'One must remember that catechetical homily *P.K.* III, gives the impression that the anointing of the body and the baptism take place immediately after the anointing of the forehead. Thus it is logical to think that the anointing of the forehead took place on Easter night before that of the body and the baptism itself.' Chrysostom however indicates that this anointing is expressly related to and follows the renunciation and adherence (*P-K* 3.7).

[76] 'There is a substantial area of agreement on the connexion of the seal with the spiritual warfare against the evil one, sufficient I would suggest, to justify us in regarding consignation … as basically a final act of exorcism …' H.Benedict Green, 'The significance of the pre-baptismal seal in St John Chrysostom', *SP*, 6 (1962): 90.

[77] *P-K* 3.7 also states that the change of allegiance has been effected, 'you have become part of the household [of Christ] and no longer have anything in common with the other one, and straightaway, he commands that you be signed … .'

The second anointing immediately precedes entry into the font, and is preparatory to the immersion rather than a conclusion to the pre-immersion rituals. Chrysostom, in *Stav.* 2.24–5 describes the manner of its administration:

> After that at nightfall, he completely removes your clothes and just as if he was about to introduce you to heaven itself by what is to be accomplished when he has your body anointed with this spiritual oil, so that your members might be fortified by this anointing and become impervious to the weapons discharged by the enemy. After this anointing he makes you enter into the sacred waters … .(*Stav.* 2.24–5)

In this series then, the naked candidate, who has been undressed by the minister, is anointed over the whole body in an unspecified manner, using the same oil as for the first anointing. It would also seem that this anointing is prophylactic. In *P-K*, however, this anointing is accorded only a cursory mention:

> when the anointing has anointed all your members, without fear you have the power to take hold of the dragon, and not be overcome with fear. So, after this chrismation it remains only to enter the pool of holy water. Then the priest removes your clothes … . (*P-K* 3.7–8)

Here, Chrysostom does not give an indication of its timing, except to connect it with the immersion, but the distinction between it and the first anointing is not so explicitly stated. Both Wenger and Piédagnel note that the minister undresses the candidates but that the anointing is administered by deacons and lower orders of clergy, with the presumption that deaconesses anointed the women.[78] In neither account does Chrysostom provide any formula to accompany the second anointing, nor any specific manner of its administration.

How should we understand the purpose of this double pre-immersion anointing? Wenger connected the second anointing closely with the first; noting that the same oil was used with the same purpose and suggested that the sign of the cross was made.[79] Finn proposed that originally there had been only one pre-immersion anointing, but that it had become separated into two without distinguishing the symbolism or the effect of each.[80] Piédagnel interpreted the second anointing as exorcistic on the basis of *MC* 2.2.[81] That these two pre-immersion anointings in Antioch are closely related and administered with the same oil seems without doubt; they are described as providing protection against the assaults of Satan which will occur in the future, rather than being exorcistic. Thus, although the manner of administration of the second anointing appears identical to that of *MC* 2, the exorcistic meaning is not prominent in Antioch.

Mopsuestia's two pre-immersion anointings have much in common with those of Antioch in their chronology and in some elements of their administration. The first follows the renunciation-adherence sequence, and is administered while the candidate remains kneeling on the *cilicium*, but now with eyes raised heavenwards

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[78] Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, pp. 92–3; Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 53.
[79] Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 147 n. 1.
[80] Finn, *Liturgy of Baptism*, p. 119.
[81] Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 53.

in adoration (*Hom.* 2.16). From the candidate's posture it would appear that this anointing is related to the previous rituals, but Theodore emphasizes that it does in fact mark a point of transition; the minister's change of vestments is an indication of the change in the candidates' status:

> … the bishop comes over to you. Instead of his usual clothes, he is wearing a delicate, shining linen vestment. He is wearing new garments which denote the new world you are entering; their dazzling appearance signifies that you will shine in the next life; its light texture symbolizes the delicacy and grace of that world. This is the symbolic meaning of his dress: he inspires you with fear but at the same time fills you with love; because it is new it communicates the dignity of the sacrament. (*Hom.* 2.17)[82]

Only Theodore makes any reference to the minister's attire, which indicate where the bishop begins the sacramental actions.

The candidate is signed on the forehead, using chrism, with the words, 'N. is signed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit' (*Hom.* 2.17).[83] Theodore implies that the sign of the cross is made by likening it to identifying marks made on sheep and imperial soldiers: 'The seal that you receive at this point marks you out for ever as the sheep of Christ, the soldier of the King of Heaven' (*Hom.* 2.17).[84] As Cyril and Chrysostom also describe, it is the mark which will drive fear in to demons, but Theodore additionally states that it makes the candidate worthy to see God:

> … and we proclaim that God has granted us the privilege of beholding him henceforth with face unveiled, if only we display before him the sign that we are members of his household and servants of Christ our Lord. (*Hom.* 2.18)[85]

This ritual was concluded by the godparent spreading an *orarium* on the candidate's head, as a sign of freedom, and then the candidate could at last stand up.

We see that this first anointing in Mopsuestia concludes and demonstrates the change in allegiance brought about by the renunciation and adherence. Theodore describes it as 'the first instalment of the mystery' (*Hom.* 2.16)[86] and, as in Chrysostom's *Cats*, it points forward to the candidate's renewed battles against Satan, rather than, as in *MC*, reinforcing the separation from Satan made at the renunciation and adherence. Further, the candidates belong to Christ from this point; that is before the immersion and post-immersion anointing. Thus, we conclude that, although in this liturgical unit the Mopsuestian rite has some parallels with the Antiochene, there are none with that of Jerusalem.

The second pre-immersion anointing in Mopsuestia is administered as in Antioch immediately before entering the font and here again it is accompanied by the Trinitarian formula. Theodore relates this anointing to the removal of the candidate's clothes: putting off clothes and being anointed all over are 'a sign of the garment

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[82] *AIRI*, pp. 177–8.
[83] Ibid., p. 178.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid., p. 179.
[86] Ibid., p. 177.

of immortality' (*Hom.* 3.8). The connection between the first and second anointing is emphasized by reserving to the bishop the identical words of administration, but in this instance others will administer the oil. Theodore is not explicit about whose role this is, except to say that 'the appointed ministers anoint your body all over' (*Hom.* 3.8).[87]

The two anointings in Mopsuestia appear more connected to each other than those in Antioch, by the identity of the formula and the oil used, however Theodore gives each a distinct interpretation: the first indicating the change in 'ownership' achieved by the renunciation and adherence; the second, as a counterpart to the stripping, looks forward to the immersion. In neither instance, could they conceivably be related to the pre-immersion anointing in *MC*.

*Comparing Syria and Palestine*    Finn explained the exclusive use of a Trinitarian formula for the anointings in this province as 'a response to the fourth-century Trinitarian controversies in and around Antioch …';[88] even if this is the case, neither Chrysostom nor Theodore interpret it as such, both preferring to indicate that they are sacramental as the water rite is sacramental. We have noted above that neither of the two anointings in Antioch and Mopsuestia has any correspondence with the single pre-immersion anointing in *MC*; in every instance they are distinguished by the use of chrism, the manner and purpose of administration and their relation to the preceding and succeeding ceremonies. Even the single anointing of *AC* 7.42 has no connection with that of *MC*, as it is not exorcistic but anticipates that which will be accomplished by the immersion.

*The Egyptian sources*

From Egypt we are provided with a prayer which most probably accompanied the pre-immersion anointing and information about this anointing's possible position in the sequence of the rite.

In *CH* 19, the oils are blessed by the bishop after the candidates have stripped but before the renunciation. The pre-immersion anointing, though, occurs between the renunciation and the adherence while they are still facing West: 'When he has said that [the formula of renunciation], the presbyter anoints him with the oil of exorcism which has been blessed, so that every evil spirit may depart from him.'[89] We noted in our discussion of *MC* that the anointing with exorcized oil after the adherence appears to disrupt the sequence of the rite, but in *CH* this anointing is clearly related to and completes the separation from Satan, which the candidates have begun by their renunciation; only when 'every evil spirit' has departed from the candidate may he approach the font and pronounce the formula of adherence.[90] No instructions about the application of this oil are given, in contrast to the explicit instructions for

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[87]  Ibid., p. 185.

[88]  Finn, *Liturgy of Baptism*, p. 130.

[89]  Bradshaw, *Canons of Hippolytus*, p. 22.

[90]  The candidates are, though, already in the vicinity of the 'font' as the description of the rite opens with an instruction to 'position them at cockcrow near the water'.

the post-immersion anointing and, as the candidates are naked, one might presume that the whole body was anointed.

The prayers for the oils in *Ser.*, 15, 16 and 17, are grouped separately from other initiatory prayers and the dispute about where they should be inserted in the rite revolves around whether one considers them to be consecratory or to accompany the administration of the oil. Brightman placed *Ser.* 15 after the renunciation in a sequence which would parallel *CH* and believed it to be a prayer at the administration of the oil, concluding that in the Egyptian rite 'the oil is administered with a simple formula in the first person, but this is preceded and followed by prayers which may be regarded as belonging to the "form" and correspond in general scope with Serapion's prayer'.[91] Cuming, however, proposed from its position with other prayers for the consecration of oils (*Ser.* 16 and 17) that it was a preliminary consecratory prayer.[92] Johnson, asserting that 'Prayers 15 and 16 are intended to have some correlation to pre- and postbaptismal anointings within the overall context of the baptismal rite',[93] nevertheless was reluctant to posit a position for them among prayers 7–11, considering them to belong to a different strata. If, though, the sacramentary can be attributed to Serapion and the mid-fourth century, which Johnson maintains,[94] then it would seem valid to attempt to find a place for them somewhere in the baptismal rite.

The position of *Ser.* 15 in the rite might well be dependent upon an interpretation of its content as much as its position in the sacramentary. It asks that:

> … And we anoint with this anointing oil those approaching this divine regeneration, beseeching you that our Lord Jesus Christ may work a healing and strengthening power with it and reveal himself through this anointing oil and eradicate from their soul, body and spirit, every indication of sin and transgression or satanic effect, and by his own grace grant them forgiveness, that dying to sin, they will live for righteousness and being refashioned through this anointing and being cleansed through the washing and being renewed by the Spirit they will fully be able to overcome from now on, the attacks of the malevolent powers upon them and the deceits of this life, and so be bound and united with the flock of your saints … .[95]

Brightman, Barrett-Lennard and Johnson interpreted this as an exorcistic anointing:[96] the prayer certainly does ask that Christ might 'eradicate … every indication of sin and transgression or satanic effect' which would be consistent with such an interpretation. We have noted in the West Syrian sources that a pre-immersion anointing may be prophylactic and refer not to past Satanic influence, but protect the candidate from future demonic assaults; this could be inferred from the request

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[91] Brightman, 'Sacramentary': 251.

[92] Cuming, 'Thmuis Revisited': 570–1. Bradshaw ('Baptismal Practice', p. 12) agrees with Cuming, as does Barrett-Lennard (*Sacramentary of Sarapion*, p. 36), even though in his translation he retains Brightman's sequence.

[93] Johnson, *Prayers of Sarapion*, p. 137.

[94] Ibid., p. 148 and elsewhere.

[95] Barrett-Lennard, *Sacramentary of Sarapion*, pp. 37–8.

[96] Brightman, 'Sacramentary': 251; Barrett-Lennard, *Sacramentary of Sarapion*, p. 36; Johnson, *Prayers of Sarapion*, p. 141.

that 'they will fully be able to overcome from now on, the attacks of the malevolent powers upon them and the deceits of this life …'.[97] It is quite possible that the exact meaning of the pre-immersion anointing was not yet fixed into such clear categories as exorcistic or prophylactic; that the prayer can express both ideas with some force might suggest that the anointing reinforced the candidate's own renunciation of Satan and anticipated future spiritual warfare, for which the candidate will receive fuller protection by the immersion and chrismation. *MC* 2.3 might also contain elements of this mixed interpretation: '… this exorcized oil invokes God and receives such very great power by prayer, so as not only to purify by burning away the trace of sinfulness, but also to drive away all the invisible powers of the evil one'. Thus even in an overtly exorcistic anointing, it is possible to intend that the candidate receives future protection against Satan.

*Ser.* 15 asks for particular benefits to be conveyed to the candidate and not to the oil; without a specific divine invocation upon the oil to make it effective for its purpose, the prayer is unlikely to be consecratory. Additionally, the prayer already refers to the oil as 'oil of anointing' (*to aleimma*), it does not become so by this prayer. We are led to conclude that this is a prayer which immediately preceded the pre-immersion anointing, but it is not possible to infer from *Ser.* 15 where the anointing took place, whether the candidates have already stripped, how or by whom the oil was administered. It is most likely to have followed the renunciation, but it is not possible to determine whether the adherence had already occurred.

*Comparing Egypt and Palestine*   The Egyptian sources present a pre-immersion anointing which appears similar to that in *MC*: in *CH* it is related to the renunciation rather than the adherence or immersion; it is administered with an 'oil of exorcism' similar to *MC's* 'exorcized oil'; in *Ser.* it is understood to eradicate and protect from satanic influence. In *CH*, as in *MC*, the naked candidates are anointed near the baptismal water by presbyters; again there are no deaconesses even though instructions concerning the women's divestiture are given. The lack of reference to the manner of its administration, together with the lack of provision for the women's modesty, would seem to imply the oil was poured and not administered in specific locations. In *MC* 2.3 and *Ser.* 15 it is through the oil that God acts: in *MC*, the oil invokes God; in *Ser.*, the bishop asks that God 'that our Lord Jesus Christ may work a healing and strengthening power with it and reveal himself through this anointing oil'; both therefore are sacramental anointings, which in *CH* may be indicated by the episcopal blessing.

Johnson regarded the oil prayers in *Ser.* as evidence that 'what appears to have happened in the Egyptian baptismal tradition in the fourth century, therefore, is quite similar to that process of transformation which Gabrielle Winkler describes as taking place at the same time within the Syrian rites'.[98] But, as Spinks points out, 'There is no rule which says that what was the case in Syria was also the case in Egypt'[99]

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[97]  This view has been promoted by Bradshaw ('Baptismal Practice', p. 12) and H.A. Kelly (*The Devil at Baptism*, pp. 138–9).
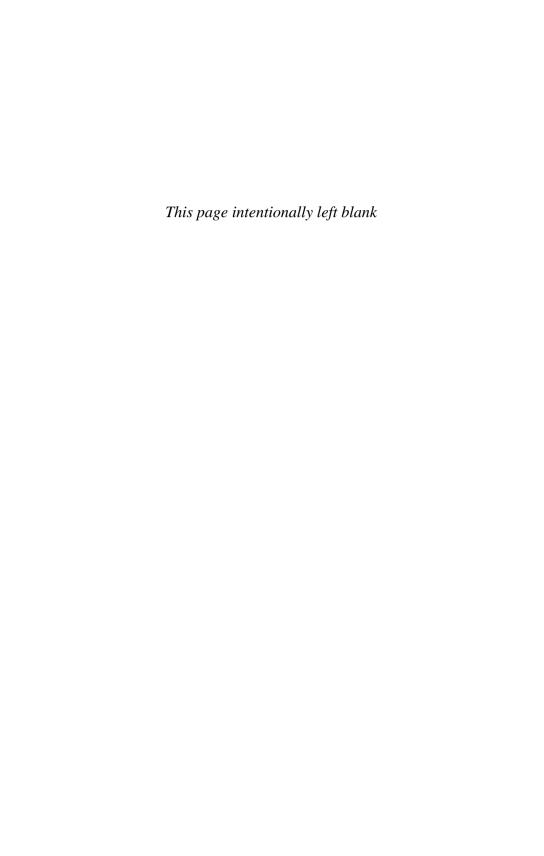
[98]  Johnson, *Prayers of Sarapion,* p. 138.

[99]  Spinks, 'A Judicious Reassessment': 262.

and there is no convincing evidence for a 'primitive' Egyptian pattern of initiation, from which *CH* and *Ser.* have departed. However one resolves this argument, interesting questions about the relationship between Egypt and Jerusalem are raised by the interpretation of this anointing presented in *CH* and *Ser.*. If, following the general consensus, *CH* is early to mid-fourth century, *Ser.* also belongs to the mid-fourth century, and if *MC* dates from at least the end of that century, then it could be suggested that Jerusalem was influenced from Egypt rather than Syria.

*Summary conclusion: the pre-immersion anointing*

The comparison with other provinces is complicated by the divergence of the rites which only becomes clearly apparent in connection with the anointings. Winkler's proposal of a change in the theology of the Syrian rites, which necessitated that the pre-immersion anointing took on purificatory properties, while the bestowal of the Spirit was reserved until after that purification had been achieved, she believed, found its first Syrian expression in *MC*. Johnson goes further, and suggests that the primitive pattern of non-exorcistic anointing and immersion was first disrupted in Egypt.[100] Our analysis of the anointings in these provinces has highlighted that its function in the rite was not firmly fixed and that even in rites with a post-immersion anointing, the pre-immersion anointing has not necessarily moved entirely in an exorcistic direction. We have remarked that *MC* 2 may express the mixed intentions of this anointing; it deals effectively with past Satanic influence as well as against that of the future, but does not have any connection with the Holy Spirit. It is only in Egypt that we find any clear parallels with *MC*: in the use of the 'oil of exorcism' in *CH*, and in the mixed intentions of *Ser.* 15; any influence upon *MC* by Eastern rites could then only be from Egypt and not at all from Syria.

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[100] Johnson, *Prayers of Sarapion*, p. 141.

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# The Immersion

The second primary structural unit is the immersion and its associated rituals. This, of course, is the central act in baptism, but as we have already seen in the last chapter, what each liturgical unit can be expected to achieve is determined by the stage in the initiatory process which the candidate has hitherto reached. The function and purpose of the water rituals is therefore determined by its role in the initiatory process, which in turn is affected by the dominant theology of the rite and of this structural unit. One of the notable factors about the immersion is that a description of its administration will furnish no information whatsoever about its meaning. More useful here are references to the manner in which the water was prepared for its function, any resulting change in its nature and the theological and biblical narrative in which it is encompassed. Thus, it has seemed important to preface our discussion of the administration of the water ritual with an examination of how the baptismal water was made ready through prayer and ritual, even where this does not occur within the initiation rite experienced by the candidate, in order to discern more accurately how each source perceives the role and function of the immersion within the whole initiatory process. Establishing the nature of the water and its purpose will provide the theological framework for the examination of the rituals conducted at the immersion which follows.

The same procedure will be followed here as in the preceding chapter, but we note that the second primary structural unit, the immersion, does not divide into clearly demarcated secondary units. Although any prayer over the water occurring within the rite could be considered as one secondary structural unit and the immersion itself another, this is not the case when the water is prepared prior to the whole initiation rite. The immersion and its accompanying formula are so inextricably linked that it would not be faithful to the sources to distinguish them as separate secondary structural units. Thus in this chapter we encounter one primary structural unit which is not sub-divided into distinct secondary structural units.

## The Preparation of the Water

The manner of consecrating the water and the attributes thereby acquired by the water, and subsequently by the candidate, are directly related to the narrative of the initiation rite as a whole and of this primary structural unit presented through the chosen biblical typologies. These typologies are not evident from the immersion rituals themselves which are variations upon some sort of administration of water with reference to the Trinity, but what these actions convey is only revealed in

discussions of the nature of the baptismal water, or when references are made to the preparation of that water.

We reviewed the three principal typologies in chapter 1 and the discussion here will show more clearly how our sources do not restrict the interpretation to a single typology, even though one is likely to be dominant. The use of a particular typology by a rite has led some to trace the liturgical influence of one see upon another, or to posit that a primitive rite has been supplanted by another using a different typology. We referred in the last chapter to Winkler's suggestion that the primitive Syrian tradition employed the typology of Christ's baptism, but that this was gradually eroded by the influence of Pauline death-resurrection typology causing the pre-immersion rituals to take on exorcistic functions and the gift of the Holy Spirit to be withheld until after the immersion; this she has also applied to the prayers for consecrating the water.[1] The extent to which this holds will be examined below.

Despite the centrality of the water rite in Christian initiation, there is little consensus between provinces about the position of the consecratory prayer within the rite. Whereas the prayer itself conveyed a theological viewpoint, the recitation of it is given neither a theological nor a pedagogical explanation, being governed it would seem by logistical considerations. Where the consecration takes place in front of the candidates, it could be assumed that it served to reinforce for them the sacramental function of the water; conversely, if the consecration was a private priestly affair, then the transformation of the element need not be understood by the candidates. We will attempt to place the act of consecration within the rite, where the evidence permits.

*Jerusalem and Palestine*

Despite the different sources for the Jerusalem liturgy, and the indications that they refer to an evolving baptismal liturgy, it is important to recall that these rites would have taken place in the same baptistery and in the same font, with water from the same source. The absence of a consistent interpretation of the nature of the water in our sources will show that their understanding of the nature and role of the water was not to be influenced by either the shape of the font or the decoration of the baptistery.[2]

Cyril in *Cat*. 3 clearly states that the water was prepared by an invocation of the Trinity by which it had been transformed:

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[1]  Winkler concludes her article on the consecration of the baptismal water, '… at the end of the fourth century, we have two basic types: the Pauline, *christocentric* death-mysticism and the Johannine, *pneumatic* birth-mysticism … the latter is rooted in Gen 1:2 as well as John 3:5. The continuing development also shows that those rites which are so firmly anchored in the creation account (… Gen 1:2), in the descent of the Spirit upon Jesus at the Jordan, and in the pneumatic birth (John 3:5), tend not to accept exorcisms into their *rituale* … and those rites which by adopting the view of the dying with Jesus on the cross (Rom 6), were thus also receptive to the repudiation of Satan in the exorcisms.' ('The Blessing of the Water in the Oriental Liturgies', *Concilium*, 178 (1985): 54).

[2]  See the discussion of the shape and position of the baptistery and font in C. Tinelli, 'Il battistero del S. Sepolchro in Gerusalemme', *Liber Annus*, 23 (1973): 95–104 and in *BEBP*.

> Do not consider the waters to be for a simple washing, but consider the spiritual grace being given with the water. For just as that which is offered at the altars, although simple in nature, becomes defiled by the invocation of the idols; so in the opposite way, simple water which receives the invocation of the Holy Spirit, and of Christ and the Father gains a new sanctifying power. (*Cat.* 3.3)

Whether this prayer was anything more than a recitation of a Trinitarian formula is unclear, but noting that Cyril reverses the customary order of the Divine Persons and that later he implies their distinct operation, it is possible that each invocation of a divine person was accompanied by a petition: for example, that the Spirit would descend and seal (*Cat.* 3.3–4); that the candidate might receive the fruits of Christ's passion (*Cat.* 3.10–12); that the Father would give the grace of adoption (*Cat.* 3.14). There is no indication in *Cats* when the font was consecrated, or whether it was done in front of the candidates; even the summary of the rite in *Cat.* 18.32 does not help us here. We know that in *MC* the candidates were outside the baptistery for the first two pre-immersion rituals and so were unlikely to have witnessed the consecration.

Cyril presents a list of what is achieved by the immersion using examples drawn from throughout the bible. He emphasizes the physical act of washing as consistent with Christ's command (*Cat.* 3.4; John 3:3) and as imitation of His own baptism (*Cat.* 3.11). This washing cleanses the candidate from sin (*Cat.* 3.4; 12), like the washings recorded in the Old Testament (*Cat.* 3.5) and as John's baptism (*Cat.* 3.6). Cyril hints strongly in this lecture that by the immersion the candidates receive the gift of the Holy Spirit: they are urged, 'Therefore, when you are about to descend into the water, do not consider the basic water but receive salvation by the power of the Holy Spirit …' (*Cat.* 3.4); they are told that the water conveys 'spiritual grace' and that in the immersion the Holy Spirit seals the soul (*Cat.* 3.5). It is in drawing direct parallels between Christ's baptism by John and that which they will receive, that Cyril gives his clearest indication that the Holy Spirit is received in the immersion:

> and the Holy Spirit comes down upon you, and a fatherly voice comes over you: not 'This is my Son', but 'This has now become my son'. For upon that one 'is', … since he is always 'Son of God'; but upon you, 'has now become', since you do not have it by nature but receive sonship by adoption. He 'is' eternally, but you receive grace by dispensation. (*Cat.* 3.14)

And in *Cat.* 17.14, when discussing the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, he further reinforces this:

> … for just as he who is covered by the waters and is baptized, is surrounded on all sides by water; so they were completely baptized by the Spirit. But the water flows only around the outside, whereas the Spirit baptizes entirely the soul within.

The choice of lection for a catechetical lecture is not without significance: *Cat.* 3 opens with a lection from Romans 6:3–4, but Cyril only returns to this theme at the end where he explains, 'For if you have been united in the likeness of the Saviour's death you will be considered worthy of the resurrection … so you go down into the water as if buried in the waters, … and are raised again to walk in the newness of life' (*Cat.* 3.12). Unlike *MC*, here by the immersion the candidate identifies with Christ's

resurrection as well as his burial. The transition from a baptismal typology based on imitation of Christ's baptism to that of imitation of His death and resurrection based on Romans, which Winkler proposed, is not really in evidence here. That Cyril sets the scene with the Pauline death-resurrection image, but subsequently discusses the importance of water in divine acts based upon the creation account in Genesis and the implications of Christ's baptism by John, would seem to indicate that he has used the references to water, washing and baptism from the Old and New Testaments without apparently favouring any one in particular.

In *Procat.* Cyril also makes a distinction between ordinary water and the water of baptism when urging his audience to ignore scoffers, 'If anyone says to you, "are you going to descend into the waters? Does the city not have any baths at the moment?"' (*Procat.* 16), by which we can assume that some sort of transformation of the baptismal water will occur. But unlike *Cats*, there is no mention of the Holy Spirit being present in the water, rather it is described as 'Christ-bearing': they will 'enjoy the fragrant Christ-bearing waters' and thereby 'receive the name of Christ and the efficacious divine power' (*Procat.* 15). *Procat.* 4 has the same warning against receiving baptism with impure intentions as *Cat.* 3.4, 'If you remain in your evil intentions … you should not expect to receive grace, for although the water will receive you, the Spirit will not'.[3] Stephenson concluded from this that 'Cyril seems to attribute the reception of the Spirit to the water (rather than to chrism)',[4] which he bases upon a questionable conflation of *Procat.* and *MC*. In *Procat.*, the waters are described as 'Christ-bearing' rather than 'Spirit-bearing' and here Cyril would seem to be issuing a standard warning against being baptized with impure intentions. What sort of consecratory prayer might be implied by *Procat.*? Riley conflated *Cats* and *Procat.* to conclude that in both cases the consecration was effected by an invocation of the Trinity,[5] but as we have noted the purpose for which the water was intended is not the same as *Cats*. *Procat.* refers to the immersion effecting only adoption by Christ and thus any prayer may well have contained a clause to that effect, even if there was still a Trinitarian epiklesis. This lecture, unfortunately contains too little information about the water to arrive at any firm conclusions.

The liturgy presented in *MC* has no place for the consecration of the water; indeed it would be impractical and illogical to ask the candidates to enter the baptistery to witness the blessing, only to leave it and re-enter formally for the anointing and immersion. The author does, however, refer to the 'holy pool of divine baptism', to the 'saving water' (*MC* 2.4) and to the 'pool of the sacred streams' (*MC* 3.1) which would seem to imply that the water had been prepared in some way. What distinguishes *MC* from *Cats* is that the immersion does not result in the reception of the Holy Spirit and thus any prayer over the water is highly unlikely to have included a specific epiklesis of Spirit alone. *MC* reserves the bestowal of the Holy Spirit to the post-immersion anointing and, interestingly, uses almost identical terms to warn candidates about mistaking the nature of consecrated oil as those given in *Cat.* 3.3

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[3]  *Cat.* 3.4 warns, 'Neither does the one who is baptized in water, but is not considered worthy of the Spirit, receive perfect grace.'

[4]  Stephenson and Macauley, *Works of St Cyril* (FoC vol. 61), p. 74 n. 17.

[5]  Riley, *Christian Initiation*, p. 145 n. 7; p. 304 n. 355.

about the water; no such warnings about the water are given.[6] This would seem to indicate that as the function of the immersion in the rite had changed so also had the manner in which the water was prepared.

The theme of the baptismal waters being 'fragrant with Christ' which we found in *Procat.* 15 recurs in *MC* 3.1: 'And He when having been washed in the Jordan River and having given the divine fragrance to the waters …'. The author draws a parallel here between Christ's baptism and the descent of the Holy Spirit then, with the recent experience of the candidate at baptism; by implication it is this 'divine fragrance' (of Christ) which the candidate receives. But, more than that, the immersion effects the identification of the candidate with Christ's burial of 'three days and three nights' (*MC* 2.4) and, in a somewhat polemical tone, the author refutes those who consider that the immersion only imitates the Jordan event:

> Let no one then consider baptism to bring about only the forgiveness of sins and the grace of adoption, as the baptism of John [which] only produced the forgiveness of sins. But I tell you accurately that it is for the cleansing of sinfulness and causes the gift of the Holy Spirit, just as it is also the antitype of the sufferings of Christ. For this Paul proclaimed just now saying, 'Do you not know, that those who have been baptized into Christ Jesus, have been baptized into his death? Therefore, through baptism we have been buried with him into his death'. He said these things to those agreeing among themselves that baptism is for the forgiveness of sins and brings about adoption, but not that it also is participation, by imitation, in the true sufferings of Christ. (*MC* 2.6)

*MC* 2 expresses throughout that the immersion effects imitation of and participation in Christ's death not his resurrection, although the baptism of John is present as a subsidiary typology. In the passage above the author attempts to maintain both interpretations even though the Pauline imagery is stronger.

As we have suggested already, the conflation of the Jerusalem sources to produce a harmonized initiation rite for this see fails to take account of the theological and liturgical developments to which the texts bear witness. Fischer, for example, presumed that the Trinitarian epiklesis over the chrism in *MC* 3.3 pointed to a similar epiklesis over the font (for which the evidence is provided by *Cat.* 3.3) despite there being no reference to a Trinitarian consecration of the font in *MC*.[7] We have noted above how the importance of the epiklesis over the water in *Cat.* 3 is transferred to the chrism in *MC* with no similar reference being made to the water and although a Trinitarian consecration of the font cannot be ruled out, neither can its presence be so easily be presumed. Similarly, Quasten concluded, on the basis of *Procat.*, *Cat.* 3.3 and *Ser.* 7, that

> There is reason to believe that Cyril (in *Procat.*) knew the same or a very similar epiklesis which was addressed to the Trinity but asked God to send down the Logos into the

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[6] In both cases the warnings concern the element by which the Holy Spirit is received: *Cat.* 3.3 warns the candidates against thinking that the water is ordinary water after the consecratory Trinitarian epiklesis; *MC* 3.3 warns against thinking that the chrism is ordinary oil after the epiklesis of the Holy Spirit.

[7] J.D.C. Fischer, 'The Consecration of Water in the Early Rite of Baptism', *SP*, 2 (1957): 44–5.

baptismal water. That would explain why he used the expression 'Christ-bearing' although he speaks of an invocation of the three divine persons.[8]

But, nowhere in the Jerusalem sources is *logos* used with the same sense as we find in *Ser.* and, as we have said above in response to Riley, the evidence for a Trinitarian invocation in *Procat.* is not strong.

Whilst not ruling out entirely the possible use of a Trinitarian epiklesis over the water in the rite of *MC*, neither would we wish to insist on its presence merely on the basis of the precedent set by *Cats* and by the consecration of the chrism. We have already rejected an epiklesis of the Holy Spirit as the basis for the consecration because the immersion does not have a Pneumatological purpose, but given the Christological bias of the immersion in this rite, might it not be that the water was prepared with a prayer containing some sort of anamnetic material with a request that it might be effective in bringing about the candidates' identification with Christ in His Passion? Such a prayer might not contain any specifically invocatory material but only petitionary.

The sources for the rest of Palestine are silent about the consecration of the water, but do mention the use of designated font or pool. Porphyrius is not recorded as having consecrated water; Euthymius has a font constructed in which to baptize the tribe of Aspébetus, although no prayer is mentioned;[9] and Egeria records the account of baptism at Aenon without referring to any consecration.[10]

### The Syrian sources

*AC*, Chrysostom and Theodore display divergent understandings of the function of the water; they use a variety of biblical typologies and each has chosen a different dominant typology to provide the narrative of the immersion.

In the first two accounts of initiation in *AC*, the Holy Spirit is bestowed by a pre-immersion anointing, and thus we would not expect any Pneumatological emphasis to be given to the immersion. In *AC* 3, there is no reference to a consecration of the font, and the water is not qualified by any adjectives such as 'holy' or 'divine', even though the oil for the pre-immersion anointing is described as such.[11] Like *MC*, the immersion is clearly not for the bestowal of the Holy Spirit, but does effect identification with Christ's death and resurrection:

> Therefore baptism is given into the death of the Son, the water represents the grave, the oil represents the Holy Spirit, the seal represents the Cross, the chrism guarantees the confession (of faith) … The immersion is participation in death, the rising up (from the water) is participation in resurrection. (*AC* 3.17,1; 17,3)

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[8]  Johannes Quasten, 'The Blessing of the Font in the Syrian Rite of the Fourth Century', *TS*, 7 (1946): 310.

[9]  *V.Euthym.* 21.

[10]  *It.Eg.* 15.5.

[11]  *AC* 3.16,4. The water is simply *to hud r* whereas the oil is *to agion elaion*.

Similarly, *AC* 7.22 understands the rite in terms of identification with Christ's death and resurrection[12] and although it describes the water as 'a symbol of the death', it says nothing about its nature (*AC* 7.22,2). It is the property of the chrism to bestow the Holy Spirit, but where there is none, the compilers legislate that all the benefits of initiation may be conveyed by the water alone (*AC* 7.22,3).

In the third account of a baptismal rite (*AC* 7.43), the water is consecrated after the pre-immersion anointing and before the immersion, which would imply that the candidates did in fact witness the prayer. The compilers begin with what appears to be a paraphrase of an anamnetic introduction to the consecration proper[13] with only the concluding supplication presented in the form in which it was intended to be recited:

> Now the priest prays for the baptism and says:

> Look down from heaven and sanctify this water, give it grace and power, so that those who are baptized in it according to your Christ's command may be crucified with him, die with him, be buried with him and rise with him so as to receive adoption in him, to be dead to sin, but live in righteousness. (*AC* 7.43.5)

There is no invocation of the Holy Spirit or of the Trinity, but rather a petition addressed to the Father that the water will be made effective for the purpose it is to achieve: identification with Christ in his passion and resurrection; filial adoption; dying to sin and living for righteousness. That there is no transformation of the water by an epiklesis is more remarkable given the warning that invalid consecration of the water, either through the unworthiness of the priest or the improper conduct of the rite results in an invalid baptism.[14] In *AC* there is a heightening of the sacramental nature of the priesthood which is entirely absent in our other sources: negligence on the part of the priest can nullify baptism, not the negligent preparation of the candidate. In relation to our discussion of *MC*, though, such a prayer is extremely interesting. Throughout *AC*, the prime function of the immersion is identification with Christ's death and resurrection but not at all the bestowal of the Holy Spirit; in *AC* the water is prepared without epiklesis but with a prayer asking that it might become effective to achieve this identification. Might not this prayer in *AC* 7.43 provide a model for the type of preparatory prayer we have suggested preceded

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[12] 'But the one who is initiated into His death is first obliged to fast and then be baptized, for it is not right that one who has participated in the death and resurrection should grieve' *AC* 7.22,6.

[13] Metzger (*Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, SChr 329, pp. 70–1) considered this to be a characteristic of the prayers in *AC* which have the following structure: praise of God's mercy; anamnetic section recalling past acts of mercy; and a supplication.

[14] 'He says everything in this way, because such is the power of the imposition of hands on each thing. If there is not an invocation like this on each of them by a reverent priest, the baptizand descends only into water, as the Jews, and rids the body of dirt, but not the soul' (*AC* 7.44.3).

the rite in *MC*, where also the Holy Spirit is not bestowed by the immersion, and evidence for any invocatory preparation of the water is not strong?[15]

Chrysostom's understanding of the water rite is based upon different theological presuppositions than *AC*: Romans 6 death-resurrection typology is absent, as is any reference to the waters of creation.[16] The primary typology is the Jordan event and 'rebirth':

> No longer is there a mother, no longer travail, nor the couch, and carnal intercourse, but the forming of our nature is from above, of the Holy Spirit and water. Moreover, the water succeeds to the task, becoming a means of birth for that which has been begotten. As the womb is to the embryo, so the water is to the believer, since he is formed and shaped in the water … Fro the time when the Lord came forth from the waters of the Jordan, the water brings forth no longer 'crawling creatures having life', but rational souls bearing the Holy Spirit. (*Hom. on John* 26)[17]

Piédagnel remarked that in none of Chrysostom's writings does he say anything about a prior consecration of the water,[18] which Riley explained by it not being witnessed by the candidates,[19] and indeed there would be no place for it in the ritual sequence of *Stav.* and *P-K*. Both, however, assume from references to 'sacred waters' that the font had been prepared by prayer; but what might it have contained? In *Stav.* 2, Chrysostom suggests that it is the Holy Spirit who is invoked:

> when you see the pool of water … you should not consider that water to be simply and only [water] … for it is not a man who accomplishes that which is achieved, but it is the grace of the Spirit and She sanctifies the water's nature … .(*Stav.* 2.10)

In *P-K* 3, however, he suggests that although baptism is to be considered as a return to Paradise, 'the pool is much better than Paradise. Here there is no serpent, but Christ is there to lead you into the mystery for rebirth by water and the Spirit' (*P-K* 3.8). From *P-K* it might appear that Christ had been invoked, as well as the Holy Spirit. When Chrysostom interprets the formula used at the immersion, he refers to Christ being the minister of baptism and that the water bestows the Holy Spirit (*Stav.* 2.26); it might therefore be inferred that the active presence of these

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[15] Winkler ('The Blessing of the Water': 54) suggested that the presence of Romans typology in *AC* was due to its 'Syro-Palestinian' origins; however, given that *AC* is generally considered to be Antiochene from *c*. 380, and, as we are in the process of demonstrating, that the rite described in *MC* bears no relation to the other West Syrian rites, is almost certainly later than *AC* and cannot be presumed to be the rite of Palestine as a whole, *AC* cannot be said to arise from a homogeneous Syrian and Palestinian theological and liturgical milieu.

[16] In *Hom. on Genesis* 3.3–4, Chrysostom describes the Spirit hovering over the waters at creation although he does not mention how this could help an understanding of the role of the Spirit in baptism.

[17] Sr. Thomas Acquinas Goggin, *Saint John Chrysostom: Commentary on Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist*, Homilies 1–47 (FoC vol. 33. Washington, 1957), p. 251.

[18] Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 54 n. 24.

[19] '… Chrysostom, like Cyril (*sic MC*) and Theodore, does not bring an explanation of this ceremony into the *Baptismal Instructions* because it seems that this was not a rite in which the candidates actively participated.' Riley, *Christian Initiation*, p. 147 n. 13.

two persons of the Trinity may indicate either a Trinitarian invocation, or at the very least an epiklesis of the Holy Spirit over the water as Chrysostom suggested in *Stav.* 2.10.

In Chrysostom's rite, then, the water serves to bring about rebirth and the gift of the Holy Spirit; he implies that the Spirit, who has sanctified it, is present in the water. The water has a quite different function than *AC* and *MC* and is likely to have been prepared differently; with an invocation by which the water itself acquired new properties, rather than by any supplicatory prayer that would make it fit for its purpose.

Theodore based his interpretation of what is achieved in the water upon John 3, Romans 6 and the Jordan event (*Hom.* 3.3–4, 5–6, 24–5). Additionally, he regarded the font as a womb from which rebirth occurs (*Hom.* 3.9) and uniquely refers to Jeremiah's image of the potter refashioning his pot (*Hom.* 3.11, 14). Despite this multiplicity of narratives, it is rebirth by water and the Holy Spirit which Theodore appears to favour, telling the candidates that

> … just as in a natural birth the mother's womb receives a seed, but it is God's hand that forms it according to his original decree, so too in baptism the water becomes a womb to receive the person who is being born, but it is the grace of the Spirit which forms him there for a second birth and makes him a completely new man. (*Hom.* 3.9)[20]

Theodore is quite explicit that the effective agent in the process is the Holy Spirit, 'Now it is not in the nature of water to work these effects [incorruptibility, immortality, impassibility, immutability]; they are the result of the working of the Spirit at baptism' (*Hom.* 3.10).[21] It is the Spirit who is explicitly invoked in the consecration of the water:

> So first of all the bishop pronounces the prescribed words of consecration, praying that the grace of the Holy Spirit may come upon the water and by his holy and awesome coming endow the water with power to produce all these effects. In this way the water becomes an awesome womb of the second birth; in this way all those who go down into the water are formed again by the grace of the Holy Spirit and born again in another higher nature … .(*Hom.* 3.10)[22]

Theodore gives only a paraphrase of the consecratory prayer, but whereas *AC* implies permission to improvise along certain lines for the preface although not for the petition, Theodore states that the bishop has no liberty to improvise. As for the position of the prayer in the rite, Riley commented that

> the only indication as to when this consecration of the baptismal water took place is the notation of Theodore that in undertaking it the bishop wore the same garment which he had changed into for the first or '*sphragis*' anointing concluding the ceremony of renunciation and commitment.[23]

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[20] *AIRI*, p. 186.

[21] *AIRI*, p. 187.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Riley, *Christian Initiation*, p. 148 n. 20.

However in his introductory summary, Theodore indicates that the bishop immerses the candidates wearing the same vestments as for the pre-immersion anointing, but does not explicitly state that the consecration took place between these two acts.[24] In the homily itself, he says that the bishop wore the same vestments for the immersion as for the pre-immersion anointing (*Hom.* 3.14), which he explains as demonstrating the transforming nature of the sacrament, rather than that he was wearing it anyway. His explanation of the consecration of the water does not immediately follow the anointing, but is surrounded by an extended explanation of what is to be achieved in the immersion by the changed nature of the consecrated water rather than the manner of performing the immersion. It cannot, then, be unequivocally asserted that in Mopsuestia the water was blessed in front of the candidates, who by this stage were naked (*Hom.* 3.8).

Winkler distinguished the Mopsuestian rite which has the Syrian emphasis on the Jordan event from *AC* which demonstrates a shift to Pauline death-resurrection imagery;[25] however, we have seen that Theodore does not refer to Christ's baptism when discussing the significance of the consecrated water but only when explaining the immersion itself, preferring the theme of rebirth by water and the Spirit. Theodore does speak of the candidate identifying himself with Christ's burial in the immersion and with His resurrection by his emergence from the water: 'So when I am baptized and put my head under the water, I wish to receive the death and burial of Christ our Lord …; when I come up out of the water, this is the sign that I believe I am already risen' (*Hom.* 3.5).[26] We have already encountered this typology in *AC*, but it does not quite match *MC* where identification with the resurrection is withheld until the chrismation; what distinguishes Mopsuestia from *AC* and *MC* is the strong emphasis on an epiklesis of the Holy Spirit which transforms the water and effects the candidates' rebirth.

*Comparison with Jerusalem and Palestine*   Both Chrysostom and Theodore emphasize that the water is sanctified by the Holy Spirit, which is then imparted by the immersion (Chrysostom) or operative in achieving the desired effect during the immersion (Theodore). In both cases the descent of the Spirit adds new qualities to the water and the rhetorical warnings against considering the font to contain ordinary water (Chrysostom, *Stav.* 2.10; Theodore, *Hom.* 3.10) are similar to Cyril's words in *Cat.* 3.3 about water which has also been transformed by an invocation, this time of the Trinity. An invocation which causes a transformation of the element is entirely absent from *AC*, where, as we have noted, God is not asked to be present *in* the water, but to permit the water to be suitable for its purpose. Both *AC* and *MC* use Romans death-resurrection typology as their primary narrative but neither do so exclusively, and in both we find that the immersion is intended to bring about identification with Christ's death (and resurrection in *AC*), the grace of adoption and the washing away

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[24]   After the formula for the anointing, Theodore says, 'Then you go down into the water that has been blessed by the bishop', *Hom.* 14 *synopsis* (*AIRI*, p. 180).

[25]   Winkler, 'The Blessing of the Water': 54.

[26]   *AIRI*, p. 183.

of sins.[27] We suggested above, on the basis of these factors, that the water for the rite in *MC* may well have been prepared using an anamnetic and supplicatory prayer for which *AC* 7.43.5 provides a model.

### The Egyptian sources

*CH* and *Ser.* assume that the water is consecrated prior to the entire liturgy and not immediately before the immersion, but neither says whether this was witnessed by the candidates. In Book 2 of pseudo-Timothy's *Canonical Responses* there is a presumption that the consecration occurs at the beginning of the rite: the questioner wished to know at what point he should consecrate the water, either before or after the renunciation; Timothy responds that the sole presbyter should perform the renunciation and then consecrate the water, indicating that it was an action which *could* be witnessed by the candidate but was essentially a priestly duty, and the candidate did not need to witness it (*CR* 2.8).

*CH* suggests that the water was consecrated before the candidates arrive, but gives no indication about how this was done.[28] The precise function of the immersion in this initiation rite is not clearly expressed but the prayer which accompanies the post-immersion imposition of hands may be helpful. This prayer mentions that regeneration, the gift of the Spirit, membership of the church and the forgiveness of sins have already been achieved.[29] The secure allocation of these functions to either the immersion or the post-immersion anointing is not possible but what we do notice here is that there is no mention of the candidate identifying with Christ, either in his baptism or in his death and resurrection. That the candidates have been born again and have received the Holy Spirit may possibly indicate a theology based upon John 3, but Bradshaw, by interpreting 'grant them also the pledge of your kingdom' to refer to the Holy Spirit,[30] would seem to suggest that the Spirit was asked to descend upon the candidates during the imposition of hands. The prayer, however, opens with the inference that the Spirit has already been received and thus it is quite likely that the immersion effected both rebirth and the outpouring of the Spirit: 'the pledge of your kingdom' referring to an assurance of resurrection. Whether the font was consecrated by an invocation of the Holy Spirit, or of the Trinity, cannot be safely inferred from the text.

Uniquely of our sources, *Ser.* provides the complete text of a consecratory prayer: *Ser.* 7, for the 'Sanctification of the Waters', is placed at the head of the prayers for the initiation rite (7–11). Johnson's identification of this section as constituting 'a rather complete baptismal ritual reflecting a relatively early baptismal theology centred on the Jordan event …'[31] will need exploring on the basis of whether the prayers themselves demonstrate this as the dominant typology. Although there

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[27]  Compare *MC* 2.6 with *AC* 7.43.5.

[28]  'One is to position them [the candidates] at cockcrow near the water, water from a river, running and pure, prepared and sanctified', *CH* 19 (Bradshaw, *Canons of Hippolytus*, p. 22).

[29]  Discussed in chapter 6.

[30]  Bradshaw, *Canons of Hippolytus*, p. 24n.

[31]  Johnson, *Liturgy in Early Christian Egypt*, p. 15.

are continued arguments about the position of the oil prayers within this rite, it is uncontroversial to assert that the consecration of the water occurred before or when the liturgy commenced, as in *CH* 19.

The prayer is addressed to the Father and contains a double epiklesis, of the Spirit and of the *Logos*, with the request that the water might effect the regeneration of the candidates:

> King and Lord of everything and Maker of the whole world, who has freely granted salvation to all created nature through the descent of your only-begotten Jesus Christ, who redeemed the human race which was created by yourself through the coming of your ineffable Word, watch now from heaven and look upon these waters and fill them with your Holy Spirit. Let your ineffable Word be in them and transform their energy and prepare the waters, being filled with your grace to be productive in order that the mystery which is now being celebrated may not be found to be without effect in those who are being regenerated, but may fill them [with] all divine grace as they go down and are baptized. Loving Benefactor, spare your own creation, save what has been created by your right hand, and form all who are being regenerated to your divine and ineffable form in order that, through having been formed and regenerated, they may be able to be saved and deemed worthy of your kingdom. And as your only-begotten Word came down upon the waters of the Jordan and rendered them holy, so now also let him come down on these waters and make them holy and spiritual in order that those being baptized may be no longer flesh and blood but spiritual and be able to worship you, the uncreated Father, through Jesus Christ in [the] Holy Spirit, through whom to you be the glory and the power in [the] holy Spirit now and to all the ages of ages. Amen. (*Ser.* 15)[32]

This prayer has a dual focus: what God in Trinity is requested to accomplish with regard to the water and what the candidate is to receive as a result of the immersion. As in a eucharistic prayer, it is addressed to the Father with a short anamnesis of the incarnation, then a request that the Holy Spirit 'fill', 'transform' and 'prepare' the waters and that the Word 'make them holy and spiritual'. At the immersion the candidates will be 'filled with grace', reformed in God's image, regenerated, saved and made spiritual. Through the transforming descent of the Holy Spirit and the *Logos* on the water, the candidates are to be reborn as spiritual beings; this theme is picked up later in the post-immersion prayer (*Ser.* 11), although neither prayer is explicit about whether the Spirit is given to the candidate at the immersion. Christ's baptism which caused all water to be sanctified is referred to in the second invocation, but there is no corresponding reference to the candidate's adoption, which one might expect from such a typology, only a very weak implication of their deification. It appears that the ensuing immersion will only be effective if administered with water consecrated in this manner and there is a clear statement that the nature of the baptismal water is to be changed as a result of the epikleses which replicates the changed nature of the Jordan after Christ had been baptized. The explicit request that the waters become 'holy and spiritual' would seem to indicate that the water itself is the effective agent in the rite, not the formula or the minister.

Johnson found a parallel between 'Watch now from heaven and look upon these waters … being filled with your grace …' and the petition in *AC* 7.43,5 that the

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[32]  Barrett-Lennard, *Sacramentary of Sarapion*, p. 33.

Father might 'look down from heaven and sanctify this water, give it grace and power …',[33] but the similarities recede after a close reading of the two texts. In any consecratory prayer we might expect to find clauses concerning the location of God and reference to water, but any further similarity is impossible given the complete absence of epikletic material in *AC* 7.43. Additionally *AC* is dependent upon death-resurrection typology which is absent from *Ser.* 7. Johnson also found a connection between Serapion's use of a *Logos* epiklesis and Chrysostom's statement that, 'The Master's body was baptized by the word and by the voice of the Father from heaven …';[34] however, although both Chrysostom and Serapion are dependent upon the Jordan event and both presume the presence of the Holy Spirit in the water, *Ser.* does not express as clearly as Chrysostom that the immersion effects the reception of the Spirit. We have discussed and refuted above Quasten's suggestion that *Procat.* and *Ser.* 7 might come from the same theological milieu.

Egyptian dependence upon the typology of Christ's baptism extends to calling the font the 'Jordan': in *CR* 2.8, Timothy is asked 'should he (the presbyter) first perform the renunciation and then sanctify the Jordan, that is, the water of the font?'.[35] Cyril of Alexandria also emphasizes the imitation of Christ's baptism by immersion in the 'Jordan' and the descent of the Spirit: 'For our Lord Jesus Christ was about to sanctify economically the Jordan, and deigned with us to be baptized … Yet was He baptized as Man, He baptized divinely in the Holy Ghost';[36] and again in his *Hom. on Luke*, 'so when we have crossed the Jordan, Christ circumcizes us with the power of the Holy Ghost'.[37] We have noted in the fourth-century sources an absence of death-resurrection typology, which is maintained until the fifth century; this is in contrast to Palestine and Syria which slowly incorporated such ideas.

*Comparison with Jerusalem and Palestine*    Although *Cats* shows dependence upon the typology of Christ's baptism with the Holy Spirit being received in the water, Cyril is clear that the water is consecrated by a Trinitarian epiklesis and not one of the Holy Spirit and the *Logos*, as we see in *Ser.*. There is no reference at all in the Egyptian sources to Christ's passion in relation to the immersion, and thus *MC's* interpretation of the immersion as an imitation of Christ's death and burial finds no parallel. We have already rejected any connection between *Ser.* and *AC* 7.43, and it is the latter which we have considered closest to the sort of preparatory prayer implied in *MC*. In Palestine, too, one never finds the baptismal water called 'the Jordan',

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[33] Johnson, *Prayers of Sarapion*, p. 127.

[34] Chrysostom, *P-K* 3.3; Johnson, *Prayers of Sarapion*, p. 128.

[35] Whitaker, *Documents*, p. 128.

[36] Cyril of Alexandria, *Against Nestorius*, Tome IV (*S. Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, Five Tomes Against Nestorius, etc*, Oxford, 1881, pp. 132–3).

[37] Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on Luke* 3 (R.P. Smith, *A Commentary upon the Gospel according to S. Luke by S. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria,* Oxford, 1859, p. 20).

indeed even with the increase in commemorating biblical events in their location the Jordan does not feature in *Cats*, *It.Eg.* or *MC*.[38]

*Summary conclusion: the preparation of the water*

We have noted that, despite drawing upon the three principal typologies outlined in the section on 'Narrative' in Chapter 1, the sources show that within each of the provinces there is no consistency as to their application. Thus in Jerusalem we have found that water consecrated by a Trinitarian epiklesis to effect the gift of the Spirit in the mid-fourth century is replaced by a Christological interpretation of the immersion. In West Syria we have found that the earliest, and heterodox, source uses Romans typology with an anamnetic and supplicatory prayer, whereas Chrysostom and Theodore describe the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the water and her bestowal in the immersion. Egypt retains the Jordan event as the principal typology. From such diversity it is difficult to conceive of a manner in which the liturgy of *MC* may have been influenced by or have influenced either of these provinces. What is most striking though is the apparent correlation between *AC* 7 and *MC* demonstrated by a common principal typology, by the likelihood of the water being prepared using a prayer which contains both anamnesis and petition, and in neither case is there an epiklesis of the Spirit or the Trinity. It is remarkable that, of all the sources, it is the slightly earlier and heterodox *AC* which is closest to the refashioned rite of Jerusalem.

## The Immersion Rituals

We have already observed that the principal biblical typology and subsequent theological interpretation of the rite as a whole and of the immersion in particular does not necessarily have any bearing upon the manner in which the immersion is conducted and is not discernible in descriptions of these rituals. At the end of the previous chapter we left the candidates at different stages in their initiation depending upon the sequence and function of the separate pre-immersion rituals; in investigating the consecration of the water we saw how the biblical typologies were employed in different ways and that this had a direct effect upon what the water ritual itself might achieve in each rite. In this section we will explore the conduct of the water ritual in each of our sources and will find that they exhibit quite marked differences. Although the renunciation displayed some degree of harmony between the provinces, the application of water and a recitation of the three Divine Names was subject to considerable variation. Thus we will notice that our sources refer to plunging, dipping or pouring with variable assistance by the minister and with no implication that any one manner of administering the water was better than another, so long as it was thrice. The logistics of entering and leaving the font were likely to be affected by the size, shape and position of the font, although a survey of baptisteries from all three provinces is not possible here.

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[38]  See *BEBP*, pp. 38–43.

E.C. Whitaker in his study of the history of the baptismal formula proposed that there were two types: the 'Western', credal and requiring the 'spoken assent of the candidate'; and the 'Syrian', which employed a declaratory formula.[39] He suggested that the Syrian form first displaced the Western in Alexandria and then moved to Rome and beyond;[40] in what follows we will show that there is evidence for an interrogation in the early fourth century in the Egyptian sources, but by the end mention is only made of a Trinitarian formula commencing 'I baptize you …'. If Whitaker is correct, then this presupposes a direction of influence from Antioch to Egypt which by-passed Jerusalem, where the reverse of the process described for Alexandria appears to have taken place. Cyril, as we will show, knew a declaratory formula but in *MC* the immersion is accompanied by an interrogation. J.N.D. Kelly contradicted Whitaker by curiously suggesting that the interrogation was normal *Eastern* practice, citing *MC*, *AC* 7 and the Cappadocians[41] but this is not borne out by the examination of the texts.

Charting the use and development of the formula in the Eastern churches is then a topic which needs revisiting and which our survey of only part of the evidence may assist. There are three main types of formula in our sources: a declaratory formula recited in the first person; a declaratory formula recited in the third person; an interrogation. The latter, as Whitaker has demonstrated, is the traditional formula in Rome, Milan and Africa and so its presence or introduction in an Eastern province might indicate influence from the West. To prove Western influence though it would be necessary to show that an interrogatory baptismal formula was unknown in the East and that it displaced another type: as early fourth-century Egypt knew an interrogation then clearly such an argument fails. The declaratory formula in the third person is found in Chrysostom and Theodore who emphasize that it is God who initiates and not the minister, and consider it improper to say, 'I baptize …'. Given that Mopsuestia had a ritual which was not dissimilar to that used in Antioch, we can conclude that the use of this formula was highly localized. Chrysostom does not appear to have had any success in introducing it into Constantinople as Proclus does not refer to it[42] and it did not spread to anywhere else. The declaratory formula recited in the first person generally has to be inferred from partial descriptions of the formula and is presumed to be present where a source does not indicate that the formula was in the third person, that is where a source mentions that baptism was administered in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit but does not cite the formula as it would have been used. Consequently, we conclude that the 'I

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[39] E.C. Whitaker, 'The History of the Baptismal Formula', *JEH*, 16 (1965): 6. Green too has written that the declaratory formula was an ancient Syrian practice which may have caused the Trinitarian conclusion to be added to Matthew 28.19: 'Matthew 28:19, Eusebius and the *lex orandi*', in Rowan Williams (ed.), *The Making of Orthodoxy* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 124–137.

[40] Evidence for the adoption of the declaratory formula in the West has been presented by P.M. Gy, 'La formule "Je te baptise', in B. Bobrinskoy (ed.), *Communio Sanctorum: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Jacques Allmen* (Geneva, 1982), pp. 65–72.

[41] J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, p. 39.

[42] See Juliette Day, *Proclus on Baptism in Constantinople* (Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 59. Norwich, 2005), p. 39.

baptize …' formula was known to Cyril and provincial Palestine, and used in Egypt in the late fourth and fifth centuries. The use of an interrogatory formula in *MC* raises considerable questions about the influences upon the liturgical development of the Eastern provinces. If Syrian influence prevailed upon Egypt causing it to abandon the interrogation, why did it not prevail in Jerusalem to ensure the retention of a declaratory formula? If the influence upon *MC* came from the West then why was such influence restricted to one Eastern city alone? If it is the supposedly representative *AT* which caused the spread of 'Western' liturgical practices, then its influence upon the sources demonstrably dependent upon it was not consistent: *CH* has both an interrogation and a declaratory formula in the first person and *AC* is ambiguous but definitely does not presume an interrogation. The purpose of our study is to look for the influence upon and by *MC* and so it will not possible to develop an over-arching theory of the use and significance of different baptismal formulae such as that attempted by Whitaker, however these reflections permit us to indicate in advance the diversity of practice and the implications this might have for resolving questions of the provenance of liturgical units.

### Jerusalem and Palestine

Even though the location for the rites alluded to in *Cats* and described in *MC* was identical, we have noted that the function of the immersion differs as does the manner of immersing the candidates. We remarked earlier that Cyril makes no reference to nudity and thus the point at which the candidates prepared themselves to enter the water is unknown; nor is it possible to make any suggestions about how the candidates moved between the pre-immersion rituals and the font. Once in the font, Cyril implies that they will be fully immersed in the water, not that water will be poured over them: in several places he refers to being buried with Christ in the water.[43] The role of the minister here is unknown, but Cyril seems to suggest the active participation of the candidate in putting himself underwater.

In two places Cyril hints at the recitation of a Trinitarian formula to accompany the immersion. During his lecture on the Holy Spirit, in which he outlines heretical views on the subject, he says, 'truly worthy is the Spirit, holy and true; and appropriately we are baptized into the Father, Son and Holy Spirit' (*Cat.* 16.19). Earlier he has appealed to the dominical command as justification for the Trinitarian formula:

> Let no one separate the Old from the New Testament; let no one say that the former has one Spirit and the latter another, since that offends against the Holy Spirit herself, who is honoured with the Father and Son and is together in the Holy Trinity at the time of baptism. For the only-begotten Son of God said clearly to the apostles, 'Go out, make disciples of all people, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'. Our hope is in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. (*Cat.* 16.4)

The strong connection Cyril wishes to make here between that which is said at baptism and the Trinitarian formula would seem to suggest that he is not simply elaborating upon Matthew 28:19 for pedagogical reasons but indicating what will

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[43]  See *Cat.* 3.12 and 17.14 quoted above.

be recited when being immersed. He does not though tell us how the clauses of that formula were distributed among the descents into the water and so it is not possible to infer the precise manner in which this liturgical unit was conducted.

*MC* 2.4 describes a quite different immersion ritual from that which we have inferred from *Cats*, and also gives us more detail about how it was performed:

> After this [the anointing] you were led by the hand to the holy pool of divine Baptism, as Christ was from the Cross to the tomb before you. And each one was asked if he believes in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. And you agreed to [confessed] the saving confession, and went down three times into the water and rose up again and imitated through a symbol the three day burial of Christ. For just as our Saviour was put in the heart of the earth for three days and three nights, and so also you in the first emergence have imitated Christ's first day in the earth and by the immersion, the night; … And in this you have died and have been born, and that saving water is to you both a tomb and a mother … .

The candidates are led by the hand from the place inside the baptistery where they had been anointed to the font, presumably this was undertaken by a deacon or at least not by the baptizing minister. It is highly likely that assistance was required to enter and leave the font safely. The font which Tinelli discovered at the Holy Sepulchre complex and which he believed to be the Constantinian font, has an exterior height of 73 cm with an internal depth of approximately 60 cm.[44] It does not appear to have been set deep into the ground, having an indentation at the base of only about 4 cm. There is no obvious place where steps might have been attached on the interior or exterior and, rejecting a running jump as the means of entry, we presume that some steps were in place and also that given the height the candidates were helped in and out. The candidates are likely to have been standing in water up to their waist and, so as to fulfill the type of Christ's burial, they were fully immersed by the baptizing minister pushing their heads under the water.

The author does not explain the words which accompanied the immersion, as with the adherence he had dealt with the subject sufficiently in the pre-baptismal catechesis.[45] The minister did not simply recite a Trinitarian formula but the candidates responded to a question or questions about their faith in the Trinity as they were in the water. It is unclear is whether the candidate was asked, 'Do you believe in (the name of) the Father, Son and Holy Spirit?', to which an assent was made followed by a triple immersion; or whether the minister asked for a response after naming each person of the Trinity with an immersion following each assent. It is quite unlikely that the interrogation concerned any more than the naming of the Trinity, in contrast to *CH* 19 where the candidates responded a credal interrogation. The distribution of one immersion to one person of the Trinity would not necessarily have to be employed given that the three immersions are not explained in terms of the Trinity[46] but of Christ's burial.

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[44] Tinelli, 'Il battistero': 101.
[45] cf *MC* 1.9 discussed in chapter 4.
[46] As, for example, Basil of Caesarea, *On the Holy Spirit*, 27.66.

The manner of reciting the Trinitarian formula appears to be a repetition in interrogatory form of the adherence. One might speculate several reasons for this apparent double confession of faith. Firstly, the baptizing minister may not have heard either the recitation of the creed at the end of the catechetical programme or the adherence formula and wished to assure himself that the candidates had made an accurate confession of faith; this might only be appropriate if the baptizing minister was the bishop wanting to know that delegated tasks had been properly carried out. Or, it suggests an addition to the Jerusalem initiation rite without reform of the whole. We have suggested earlier how the renunciation and adherence sequence sit uneasily in this rite, with the renunciation being supplemented by, but separate from, an exorcistic anointing and with an orientation which does not suit the Holy Sepulchre complex. Might it be that when the declaratory formula of the immersion in *Cats* was employed for the newly added adherence so as to compliment the four clause renunciation, a somewhat modified baptismal formula was introduced?

The other Palestinian sources are not so fruitful. *Procat.* has little to say about the immersion other than that which has already been discussed concerning the nature of the water. In *Procat.* 4, the candidates are told that during Lent they have time to put off, to wash (literally, 'to wash thoroughly') and put on, an interesting avoidance of *baptiz* but no help in establishing whether the immersion was conducted according to *Cats* or to *MC*. Egeria's account of baptism at Aenon shows how a local church had appropriated a holy site for baptism: 'The holy presbyter told us that nowadays at Easter the candidates who are to be baptized in the village, … receive their actual baptism in the spring itself. Then, directly afterwards, they go … from the spring to the church of the holy Melchizedek' (*It.Eg.* 15.5).[47] She gives no details about the performance of the immersions. The references in *V.Porph.* and the monastic biographies are similarly lacking in specific detail. Euthymius had a font constructed and baptized the tribe of Aspébetus 'in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit'[48] (*V.Euthym.* 21.5) which may indicate that he used a declaratory formula.

*The Syrian sources*

Our assertion that the principal typology does not determine the manner of administration becomes most evident when comparing *MC* with *AC*; both interpret initiation in terms of Christ's death and resurrection but in *AC* there is no suggestion that the immersions are accompanied by an interrogation. *AC* does, though, differ from Chrysostom and Theodore whose rites have a high degree of convergence.

In *AC* 3.16 the officiating minister at the immersion need not be the bishop who can delegate to a presbyter. There is no reference to the number of immersions nor would it appear that the formula is given in full, the minister being told to say over the candidates 'the invocation of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit' (*AC* 3.16,4). *AC* 7,22 is no more explicit; it prefaces the description of the initiation rite by quoting Matthew 28:19 but says nothing about how the immersion is performed,

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[47]  Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, p. 127.

[48]  Price and Binns, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, p. 16.

except to stipulate the use of water. The third account of initiation in *AC* is no more prescriptive; it simply comments that following the blessing of the water, '… he baptized [the candidate] in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, he anoints with chrism …' (*AC* 7.44,1). It is only in the collection of *Apostolic Canons* which concludes *AC* that we find any reference to the number of immersions: Canon 49 says that each person of the Trinity must be named; and Canon 50 that:

> If a bishop or presbyter does not accomplish the three washings [baptisms] of the single initiation, but gives one baptism into the Lord's death he is to be expelled; for our Lord did not say, 'Baptize into my death', but 'Go, teach all peoples, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'. (*AC* 8.50)

This is followed by a theological discourse where the compilers distinguish the nature of each Person of the Trinity, which Metzger concluded belongs to the same process of editing as the rest of *AC*.[49] Here *AC* appears wary of the death-resurrection typology which is advocated elsewhere. Metzger suggests this gloss is included because of 'the complier's preoccupation with providing formulae which guaranteed the validity of the liturgical actions', or that it presents the faith which the rites and candidates must express.[50] It may well be that, as in *MC* 2.6 where the author justifies the use of Romans 6 typology by demonstrating how it does not preclude other typologies, here in *AC* the compilers wish to show that identification with Christ's death and resurrection in the immersion does not negate the activity of the whole Trinity. We are not told how the naming of each person corresponds to the immersions, nor whether the formula is prefaced by 'I baptize in the name of …' or is impersonal, as Chrysostom and Theodore, but it seems clear that an interrogation is not implied.

We have already discussed how the second pre-immersion anointing described in both series of Chrysostom's baptismal catecheses immediately precedes the immersion and would appear to have been administered adjacent to the font, unlike *MC* where the candidates are escorted to the font from the place of anointing.[51] Chrysostom and Theodore explain the nudity of the candidates in terms of a return to Paradise, 'It reminds you of the former nakedness when you were in Paradise and were not ashamed' (*P-K* 3.8); in contrast to *MC* where Christ naked on the Cross is the principal justification (*MC* 2.2).

In Chrysostom's rite the candidate is the passive recipient of the rituals, and even the minister's role is minimal; it is Christ who actively baptizes:

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[49]  Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques* (SChr 336), p. 11.

[50]  Ibid.

[51]  *MC* 2.4, quoted above. The proximity of the immersion to the anointing is described by Chrysostom in *Stav.* 2.22-4, '… at nightfall, your clothes are completely removed … your body is anointed with that spiritual oil and … after this anointing, you are sent down into the sacred waters …'; and in *P-K* 3.8, 'Therefore after this anointing there remains only to go into the holy waters of the pool. The priest then removes your clothes; he himself leads you into the waters'.

> At the exclamation of the priest, 'x is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit', he pushes the head down three times [into the water] and raises it, by this mystical initiation preparing the candidate to receive the visitation of the Spirit. For it is not only the priest who touches the head, but the right hand of Christ, And this is shown by the words of baptism; he does not say, 'I baptize so and so', but 'so and so is baptized'. (*Stav.* 2.26)[52]

Here Chrysostom is quite explicit, the minister recites the Trinitarian formula but the naming of the candidate and the passive verb indicate that baptism is not at his hands. Wenger suggested plausibly that the Trinitarian formula was recited only once but that the bishop immersed the candidate as he named each person, although the text gives no indication of how the immersions were administered.[53] Finn's interpretation of the priest's actions in immersing as an 'Imposition of Hands' would seem to be unjustified:[54] the placing of the minister's hand on the candidate's head is the means by which the latter is immersed and is not a distinct liturgical action, to attempt to equate it with 'confirmation' is extremely misleading.

With reference to Syrian practice, Green connected the use of the Trinitarian formula to Christ's baptism in the Jordan, 'For the nearest that the New Testament comes to an *icon* of the Trinity (as distinct from a verbal triad) is the synoptic Baptism narrative – a much more credible background for the development of a threefold formula for use in baptism …'.[55] Chrysostom, however, explains that the Trinitarian formula is recited in order to reinforce Nicene orthodoxy, 'in order that you may be thereby taught that the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are one substance (*ousia*) …' (*Stav.* 2.26). He expresses elsewhere a concern for the correct use of the formula which we found in *AC* 8:

> That is also why the Trinity is invoked at baptism. I say this for the Father is capable of doing the whole thing, as also is the Son, and likewise the Holy Spirit. But since no one is in doubt about the Father, though there was doubt about the Son and the Holy Spirit, They were brought into the rite of initiation in order that, by Their participation in the dispensing of those ineffable blessings, we might also realize Their common dignity. (*Hom. on John* 78)[56]

It is interesting that Chrysostom does not refer to the dominical command nor to the theophany at Christ's baptism as justifications for the formula.

The candidate was pushed under the water, rather than having water poured over him and we can assume from the receptacle being *kolumb thra* that Piédagnel's translation of *ta namata* as 'l'eau courante' would seem to be figurative.[57] Finn suggested that the font was octagonal,[58] as did Piédagnel who considered that the

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[52] There is no description of the immersion rituals in *P-K*.

[53] Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 96.

[54] Finn, *Liturgy of Baptism*, p. 174.

[55] Green, 'Matthew 28:19, Eusebius and the *lex orandi*', p. 135.

[56] T.A. Goggin, *Saint John Chrysostom: Homilies on the Gospel of Saint John*, 48–88 (FoC vol. 41. Washington, 1959), p. 346.

[57] *P-K* 3.8; Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 237.

[58] Finn, *Liturgy of Baptism*, p. 153.

octagonal baptistery at Kalaat-Seman, erected in 476 to commemorate Simon Stylites, indicates the shape of the Antiochene baptistery. He further proposed that, 'For the immersion … many catechumens could be simultaneously immersed in the pool, whilst only one priest, sometimes a different one for each (candidate) and present beside (the priest), pronounced the formula …'.[59] Such multiple simultaneous immersions are not attested in any source for this period and, although the Antiochene baptistery and font *may* have been octagonal, there is no literary or archaeological evidence to support this theory.

The position and conduct of this liturgical unit in Mopsuestia is similar to that described by Chrysostom but differs in its explanations of the formula. Theodore appeals additionally to the dominical command (*Hom*. 3.14), to Peter's command to the lame man 'in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, stand up and walk' (*Hom*. 3.15, 17; Acts 3:6) and emphasizes the action of the whole Trinity by stating that the benefits of baptism are not bestowed separately by different persons;[60] none of these ideas are present in *MC* 2. Mazza suggested that Theodore did not employ the 'x is baptized …' formula but only 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'.[61] This he based upon the presumption that when in *Hom*. 3 Theodore first refers to the bishop placing his hand upon the candidate's head and saying 'x is baptized, etc', this action is divorced from the immersion, but that when describing the immersion Theodore gives 'in the name of …'.[62] This is a novel interpretation of Theodore's words as he precedes his explanation of the formula by justifying its passive form in terms similar to Chrysostom: 'N is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit' (*Hom*. 3.14). This parallels the formula which accompanies the anointing and by it the bishop indicates that it is God in Trinity who acts in baptism and not he: 'This is why, when the bishop places his hand on your head, he does not say. "I baptize", but "N. is baptized"; for no man, only divine grace, is capable of making such a gift' (*Hom*. 3.15).[63] So Theodore commenced the formula 'x is baptized' and immersed the candidate after the separate naming of each Person (*Hom*. 3.18–19). The candidates were silent throughout but not passive, indicating their assent to the baptism by inclining the head, and by allowing themselves to be immersed.[64]

For Theodore, it is the recitation of the formula which is effective and not the immersions (*Hom*. 3.20). Whereas Chrysostom understood that the immersion and recitation of the formula together caused the candidate to receive the Holy Spirit,

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[59]  Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 253.

[60]  'Since each Person is named, you understand that each enjoys equal perfection and is able to dispense the graces of baptism … the grace dispensed by the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit is one and the same', *Hom*. 3.20 (*AIRI*, p. 192.)

[61]  Enrico Mazza, 'La formule battesimale nelle omelie catechetiche di Theodoro di Mopsuestia', *Ephemerides.Liturgicae*, 104 (1990): 28.

[62]  Mazza, 'La formule battesimale': 27.

[63]  *AIRI*, p. 190.

[64]  'But since at the moment of baptism you cannot speak, but have to receive the sacrament of renewal in silence and awe, you bow your head when you immerse yourself to show your sincere agreement with the bishop's words', *Hom*. 3.18 (*AIRI*, p. 192).

Theodore, as Brock has shown,[65] transferred the reception of the Spirit to the anointing; by the immersion, the candidates receive the gift of becoming children of God (*Hom.* 3.21). However, in making a direct comparison between Christ's baptism in the Jordan and that received by the candidates, it is the Father's voice from heaven which he emphasizes, the descent of the Spirit only confirms the adoption (*Hom.* 3.25).

*Comparison with Jerusalem and Palestine*    Chrysostom and Theodore describe a ritual which is essentially the same in performance, if not in significance. The emphasis on the impersonal formula to demonstrate divine rather than human action is a distinctive feature which we do not encounter elsewhere. This declaratory formula and the silence of the candidate distinguish these rites from *MC* where the candidate is expected to respond to an interrogation.[66] *AC*, which shares a similar theological framework to *MC*, does not imply an interrogation, but neither does it suggest an impersonal formula and, if any comparisons can be made with Jerusalem, *AC* may lie closer to *Cats* than to *MC*. The only connection between these rites and *MC* would appear to be that the candidates were immersed totally and that water was not poured over them.

*The Egyptian sources*

The Egyptian sources also show some variation of practice: we will find that in Alexandria, and probably Thmuis, the immersion was accompanied by a declaratory formula, however *CH* supplements this with an interrogation from the font. The introduction of the declaratory formula is first evident in *CH*, according to Bradshaw, who notes the difficulty experienced by the author in incorporating the two traditions before him.[67]

There are a number of accounts or explanations of the immersion in Alexandria from the mid-fourth to the mid-fifth centuries contained in some quite diverse sources which seem to confirm this move from an interrogation to a declaratory formula. The earliest for our study appears in Rufinus' account of Athanasius' premature initiatory activity in which it appears that the immersion was accompanied by an interrogation. The bishop wished to know if the juvenile Athanasius had indeed baptized his playmates and

> carefully examined those who were said to be baptized, asking them what questions had been asked, and what replies they had made … When he saw that everything was in accordance with our religion, he is said to have conferred with a council of clergy and to

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[65] Sebastian Brock, *The Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition* (Syrian Churches Series vol. 9. Kottayam, 1979), p. 40.

[66] G. Kretschmar is surely mistaken when he writes that both Jerusalem (*MC*) and Antioch 'have a baptismal formula to be uttered by the minister at the moment of the baptismal bath'. 'Recent Research on Christian Initiation', *SL*, 12 (1977): 93.

[67] Bradshaw, 'Baptismal Practice', p. 14.

have pronounced that baptism should not be repeated upon those over whom water had been poured out with perfect questions and answers. (*EH* 10.15)[68]

The adult Athanasius as bishop of Alexandria, however, seems to assert that a declaratory formula suffices:

> … so he commanded us to be baptized not into the name of unoriginated and the originated nor into the name of the uncreated and created, but into the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. By this consecration, we too are truly made into sons …'. (*De Decretis* 31)[69]

And to Serapion, he writes:

> … anyone who takes away from the Trinity and is baptized in the name of the Father only, or in the name of the Son only, or in the name of the Father and the Son apart from the Spirit, receives nothing but remains empty and unsanctified – both he and the one who appears to be administering the consecration. After all, it is a consecration in the Trinity. (*Letter to Serapion* 1.30)[70]

His insistence on the formula may well have been related to the doctrinal controversies in which he was embroiled as Alvyn Pettersen has suggested,[71] but it also shows that he interpreted baptism into the Trinity as fulfilment of the dominical command which was reflected in the creed of Nicaea. The importance of Matt. 28:19 and a declaratory formula is also promoted by Didymus:

> As they [the apostles] had the primacy of priesthood, and are initiators of the faith as Christ indicated, saying, 'Go then and teach all peoples, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit' … there is only one faith in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and does not the washing confirm and establish this in the name of the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit? (*On the Holy Spirit* 23)[72]

Lastly, Timothy gives directions for conditional baptism which indicate that the Trinitarian formula was recited in the first person: the priest should say, 'If you have not been baptized, I baptize you in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit' (*CR* 1.38).[73] There is no further information to be gleaned from the Alexandrian sources about the administration of the water rite. Athanasius' *Encyclical Letter* of 339 refers to the baptistery being burned down in the Arian riots, so we can infer that baptism was administered in a building and not in stream even though referring to the font as Jordan might imply baptism in a river. It is not clear who the minister of baptism was, nor how the immersions corresponded to the formula.

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[68]  P.R. Amidon, *The Church History of Rufinus of Aquileia, Books 10 and 11* (New York, 1997), p. 27.

[69]  Khaled Anatolios, *Athanasius* (London, 2004), p. 210.

[70]  Ibid., p. 229.

[71]  Alvyn Petterson, *Athanasius* (London, 1995), p. 189.

[72]  *PG* 39, 1053D.

[73]  Whitaker, *Documents*, p. 128.

*CH* provides us with one of the most comprehensive descriptions of the immersion from the fourth century. We are told when the immersion took place, who the minister was, what words were spoken and what actions performed:

> Thus he descends into the waters: the presbyter places his hand on his head and questions him saying, 'Do you believe in God the Father Almighty?' He who is baptized replies, 'I believe'. Then he immerses him in the water once, his hand on his head. He questions him a second time, saying, 'Do you believe in Jesus Christ, Son of God, whom the Virgin Mary bore by the Holy Spirit, who came for the salvation of the human race, who was crucified in the time of Pontius Pilate, who died and was raised from the dead the third day, ascended into heaven, is seated at the right hand of the Father, and will come again to judge the living and the dead?' He replies, 'I believe'. Then he immerses him in the water a second time. He questions him a third time, saying, 'Do you believe in the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete flowing from the Father and the Son?'. When he replies 'I believe', he immerses him a third time in the water. And he says each time, 'I baptize you in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, equal Trinity'. Then he comes up from the water. (*CH* 19)[74]

Unlike the West Syrian rites where the minister merely lends his hand to the divine action, in *CH* it is the priest who must elicit a faith response from the candidate and then by reciting the declaratory formula be the agent of baptism. Uniquely here we find a credal interrogation followed by a Trinitarian formula in the first person. Bradshaw cited evidence that an interrogatory credal baptismal formula was known in third-century Egypt,[75] and, following Whitaker's suggestion that the declaratory formula was of Syrian origin,[76] he concluded that 'Its appearance here indicates that it must have been exported to Egypt at an earlier date than had previously been supposed'.[77] However as we have already seen, although there may well have been an interrogation in the early part of the fourth century, by the end a declaratory formula was normal practice in Alexandria. Bradshaw's suggestion implies that here we have a reversal of the liturgical evolution in Jerusalem where a declaratory formula is replaced by an interrogation. In *CH*, though, Whitaker suggested that the declaratory formula was an interpolation since *AT* has only an interrogation.[78]

Did the compiler wish this rite to gain wide acceptance by incorporating both traditions? Or, in the same way that Basil of Caesarea demonstrates that fulfilment of the dominical command is to 'make disciples' and then 'baptize in the name of …' (*On Baptism* 1.2,1), perhaps the credal interrogation corresponds to the candidate declaring his discipleship and the thrice recited Trinitarian formula to the manner of baptizing? Or, the triple repetition of the formula may serve to emphasize that baptism is into the three persons equally and that each immersion does not correspond to being baptized into the name of the person just mentioned in the interrogation? The combination of a formula with an interrogation is not found in

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[74]  Bradshaw, *Canons of Hippolytus*, p. 23.

[75]  Bradshaw refers to such a formula being attested by Dionysius of Alexandria, cited in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 7.9 (*Canons of Hippolytus*, p. 23n).

[76]  Whitaker, 'Baptismal Formula': 6.
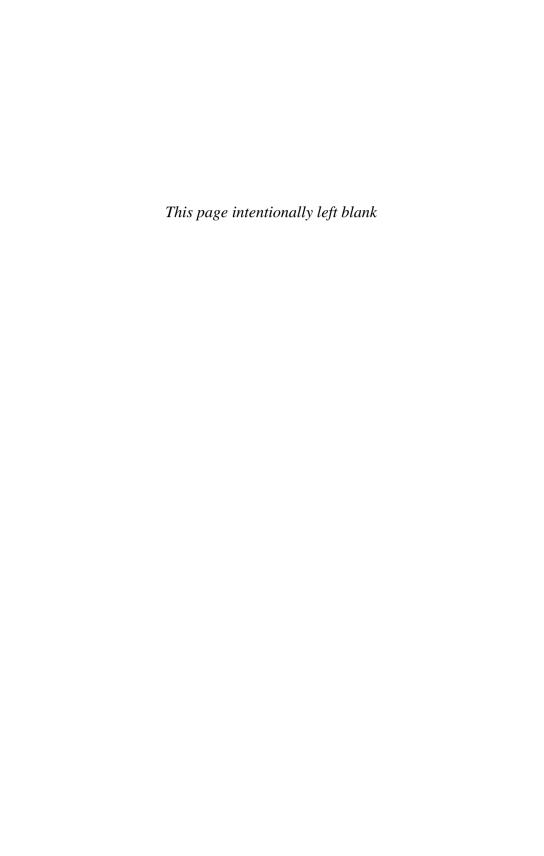
[77]  Bradshaw, *Canons of Hippolytus*, p. 23n.

[78]  Whitaker, 'Baptismal Formula': 3.

any of our other sources but only much later in the Constantinopolitan Barberini gr. 336. In its thoroughness though *CH* is consistent with the sort of views expressed by Athanasius in the letter to Serapion quoted above.

*Comparison with Jerusalem and Palestine*    The Egyptian sources show a clear preference for a Trinitarian formula beginning 'I baptize' as a way of ensuring baptism was administered in an orthodox (Nicene) manner and this provides common ground between Cyril of Jerusalem and the Egyptian sources. The presence of a credal interrogation in *CH*, although more thorough than that implied in *MC* 2, may reflect a move from the sufficiency of the formula to a requirement that the candidate definitively declare the faith into which he was to be baptized. There is no implication that the interrogation in Jerusalem was credal, and we have concluded that the candidates were asked to assent to their faith in each person of the Trinity by a simple response. It is possible that the response 'I believe' (*CH* 19) may be a model for that expected from the candidates in Jerusalem.

*Summary conclusion: the immersion rituals*

Whether the water was poured over the candidate or he was pushed under the water by the minister's hand is probably more related to the shape and location of the font rather than any theological preference. The fundamental issue in this chapter has been the presence of an interrogatory formula in *MC*, which distinguishes it from most of its contemporaries. It is only in *CH* from the early fourth century that one finds an interrogation from the font and so did the interrogatory formula travel from Egypt to Jerusalem? And did this occur while simultaneously the declaratory formula travelled from Syria to Egypt by-passing Jerusalem? To demonstrate that there is a direct relationship between *CH* and *MC* it would be necessary for the interrogation to be conducted in a similar manner. In *CH* the candidate responds with 'I believe', as in *AT*, and we have suggested that that may also have been the case in *MC*; although, as *CH* also has a declaratory formula it would be difficult to establish a direct and dependent relationship between these sources.

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# The Post-Immersion Rituals

The third and final primary structural unit which we have identified contains liturgical actions following the immersion which divide into two distinct parts. First, the post-immersion anointing which is properly initiatory, present where the immersion does not form the final sacramental action. This does not occur in every province and our discussion of this secondary structural unit will attempt to assess how its presence or absence might contribute to our understanding of the evolution of Eastern baptismal rites. Second, we have identified acts which occur after the final initiatory action, either the immersion or anointing, and signify the candidates' new status in the community. These are the *transitional rituals* which occur between initiation and its completion by the reception of communion; such rituals may include such actions as the recitation of prayers, processions, blessings, but they add nothing to the process of initiation.

**The Post-Immersion Anointing**

Problematic for scholars has been the origin and spread of the post-immersion anointing and its interpretation in each province. There is no such anointing in the regions of East Syria or Asia Minor even into the fifth century, and for the Eastern provinces included in this study its presence is patchy: Antioch and West Syria may bear witness to the introduction of the rite; the Egyptian sources both include and omit this ritual; in Jerusalem the ritual has a precise mystagogy but it seems unknown in provincial Palestine. The debate has revolved around three areas: firstly, suggested by Ratcliff, that Jerusalem provided the model which was followed elsewhere; secondly, that it arose from a change in the biblical and theological models for initiation; and thirdly, from legislation for the reception of heretics.

Ratcliff suggested that Jerusalem is the key to the spread of this anointing in the East, although he does not say what was the source of this innovation.[1] He proposed that the topography of the Holy Sepulchre complex was a major factor in the adoption of Romans typology[2] but that the traditional Syrian baptismal typology of Christ's baptism in the Jordan was retained by transferring what had previously belonged to the pre-immersion anointing to the post-immersion anointing.[3] Thus, far from being innovative in this respect, *MC* was simply 'expressing in a new way … the traditional Eastern idea of "communication" with Christ the Son of God as established in and

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[1]  Ratcliff, 'Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition', p. 35.

[2]  Ibid., p. 28.

[3]  Ibid., p. 31.

by the baptismal rite.'[4] Although he did acknowledge the possible influence of the Western church and of *AT*, using Ratcliff's theory, we do not necessarily need to look beyond the perimeter of the Holy Sepulchre complex to find a reason for the introduction of a post-immersion anointing in Jerusalem.

Such a benign interpretation of the 'new' typology has not been endorsed by Winkler and Brock, who have suggested that the radical transformation of initiation rites caused by the adoption of Romans typology forced the addition of a post-immersion anointing. Winkler proposed that the reworking of the Jerusalem rite was due to the necessary increased emphasis on catharsis implied by such a typology:

> Purification becomes the fundamental requirement for the coming of the Spirit. Therefore the anointing before baptism with which the gift of the Spirit was once associated, had to be changed into a prophylactic or cathartic ritual. The descent of the Spirit remains connected with the anointing, but this anointing now follows the washing away of sins.[5]

Brock also accounts for the introduction of this ritual by the change in the meaning of the pre-immersion anointing:

> The altered situation of Christianity in the later fourth century, which brought with it a change of conceptual models and imagery necessitated a radical re-interpretation of the rushma, leaving it with only a protective and cathartic meaning, and transferring its positive elements from the oil either to the water or, in due course, to the newly introduced post-baptismal anointing with myron.[6]

Interestingly, the author of *MC* does not refer to the catharsis of the pre-immersion and immersion rituals as being essential precursors to the chrismation, rather that chrismation accords to a pattern established by Christ at his baptism. Winkler agreed with Ratcliff that the unique topography of the Holy Sepulchre complex and Jerusalem may have been influential,[7] although, as we have already noted in relation to the renunciation/adherence sequence, there appears to be a complete disregard for the local topography in *MC*, in contrast to *Cats*.[8] Winkler and Brock both follow Ratcliff in proposing that Jerusalem introduced this anointing to Syria.[9]

A further proposal for the origins of the post-baptismal anointing in the Eastern churches has been the necessity to find a ritual by which heretics could be restored to the church. Botte proposed that for heretics who had been baptized using a Trinitarian formula which could not be repeated, the provision of a supplementary anointing with chrism accompanied by the formula 'the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit' provided a specific ceremonial model for the Syrian churches by which the Holy Spirit could

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[4] Ibid., p. 33.

[5] Winkler, 'Original Meaning': 44.

[6] Brock, 'Transition', p. 225.

[7] Winkler, 'Original Meaning': 42 n. 63.

[8] *MC* 1.4. The candidates renounce Satan facing West, 'the region of sensible darkness', which means that they would have been facing towards the tomb itself.

[9] Winkler, 'Original Meaning': 38; Brock, 'Transition', p. 222.

be conveyed:[10] 'The position of the Council of Laodicea … was that, if the baptism conferred in heresy was valid, the gift of the Spirit was not communicated, and it was necessary to supply it after baptism.'[11] The issue has been revisited more recently by Varghese: the canons of Laodicea (*c*. 360), Basil of Caesarea's *Epistle* 188 and the spurious canon 7 from the council of Constantinople all prescribe the chrismation of certain schismatics.[12] We will note below that *AC* appears to relate the post-immersion anointing to the adherence, which Varghese suggests only makes sense in the context of the reception of heretics who were required to anathematize their heresy and make a confession of faith.[13] Varghese points out that his three relevant sources all come from Asia Minor and proposed that the post-immersion chrismation was first introduced there and later inspired the Syrian tradition.[14] In this view the spread of the post-baptismal anointing was not due to the influence of Jerusalem, but indicates that Jerusalem was merely responding to a similar need to receive heretics.

In this section, where our sources permit, we will look at the preparation of the oil, its administration and interpretation in order to investigate which of these theories might best be applied to *MC*, and to assess claims for the hagiopolite origin of the post-immersion anointing in the East. To demonstrate the direction of travel of this anointing and for any link with Jerusalem to be established, we will need to find structural and narrative convergence; the mere existence of an anointing will not be sufficient to demonstrate a relationship of influence.

### Jerusalem and Palestine

If *MC* bears witness to the introduction of a post-immersion anointing in Jerusalem, then it is necessary first to examine what evidence there might be for post-immersion rituals in *Cats* and *Procat.*, in order to demonstrate both its novelty and as a basis for indicating how the Jerusalem rite may have evolved.

We have noted above that a remarkable feature of *Cats* is that nowhere does Cyril mention oil, even when given the appropriate opportunity to do so. When referring to how priests and prophets received the Spirit in the Old Testament he mentions only a water ritual, 'First, the high priest is washed and then he burns incense; Aaron washed first and then became high priest, for how could one who had not been cleansed by water pray on behalf of others?' (*Cat*. 3.5). In Exodus, however, Aaron is washed (29:4) and then anointed (29:7). *MC*, by contrast, makes explicit the connection between the priestly anointing of Aaron and chrismation:

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[10]  B. Botte, 'Postbaptismal anointing in the Ancient Patriarchate of Antioch', in Vellian, *Studies*, p. 69.

[11]  Ibid., p. 71. Botte dates the council to *c*. 380.

[12]  B. Varghese, *Les Onctions Baptismales Dans La Tradition Syrienne* (CSCO 512. Louvain, 1989), pp. 115–8. The spurious canon 7 of the Council of Constantinople is from a letter to Martyrios, patriarch of Antioch (459–70), from Gennadius, his counterpart in Constantinople.

[13]  Ibid., p. 123.

[14]  Ibid., p. 126.

> Moreover you should know that the symbol of this chrism lies in the Old Testament. For at that time when Moses imparted to his brother the command of God and made him high-priest, after having washed in water, he anointed [him]; and he was called 'Christ' because of the evidently typical chrismation. So also the high-priest, raising Solomon to kingship, anointed him after he had washed in the Gehon. But these things came to them typically, but not to you as a type, but truly, since the One who was anointed with the Holy Spirit is truly the source of your salvation. (*MC* 3.6)

In the same vein, in *Cat.* 16 on the Holy Spirit, Cyril says, '… Aaron is called Christ, and David and Saul and others are called Christs, but there is only one true Christ …' (*Cat.* 16.13). The context would imply that by 'Christ' Cyril means 'one who has been anointed', but he does not relate the gift of the Spirit to an anointing; again this is in sharp contrast to *MC* 3. 1–3 where *chrism* is explained by a play on words involving 'Christ' and becoming 'Christs' through the anointing.

When Cyril announces the post-baptismal lectures, he tells the candidates that they will hear

> how you were cleansed of your sins by the Lord, by the washing of water with the word, and how like priests you have become sharers in the name of Christ and how the seal of the fellowship of the Holy Spirit was given to you. (*Cat.* 18.33)

If we accept that this is part of Cyril's original text and not an addition to make *Cats* conform to *MC*, then might he be referring to the sequence of the rite and thus implying post-immersion rituals which convey 'the name of Christ' and the 'seal of the Holy Spirit'? Or, is he referring to the consequences of the rite as a whole? Immediately before these words, Cyril has anticipated the final pre-baptismal instruction, which I have interpreted as a rehearsal,[15] where they will be told, 'with what piety and order you ought to go in when called; the purpose of each of the holy mysteries of baptism and with what reverence and order you ought to go from the baptism to the holy altar of God …' (*Cat.* 18.32). Here Cyril implies that there are several 'mysteries of baptism', and uses 'baptism' to refer to the whole process not just the immersion, but he does not explain at what point the initiation has been completed and the candidates move to the altar. We have noted already in chapter 4 Cyril's ambiguity about a pre-immersion anointing and how he appears to attribute the benefits of initiation to the immersion itself, thus it would seem more likely that the candidates received the name of Christ and the 'seal' of the Spirit in the immersion. We are led to conclude, with Varghese, that the existence of a post-immersion anointing in *Cats* is doubtful.[16]

*Procat.* is no more explicit about the use of oil, but seems to allude to the sequence of the rite in similar terms as *Cat.* 18.33: '… then may you enjoy the fragrance of the Christ-bearing waters; then may you receive the name of Christ and the power of divine things …' (*Procat.* 15). Again, this could be interpreted as post-immersion rituals to receive 'the name of Christ' and 'the power of divine things' by the gift of the Holy Spirit ritualized in a chrismation; or, simply as the fruit of the initiation

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15   See 'Lent and the Catechetical Program': 138.
16   Varghese, *Les Onctions Baptismales*, p. 72.

process as a whole which culminated in the immersion. It is not inconceivable that as the water is 'Christ-bearing', the immersion could convey the 'name of Christ' and also 'divine things'. The allocation of the different effects of initiation to separate rituals, which is a feature of *MC*, do not seem to be evident yet in *Cats* and *Procat*.

Varghese noted that *MC* were the first Eastern text to explain the post-baptismal anointing with such magnificent and elaborate symbolism.[17] Indeed the account in *MC* 3 is very comprehensive: we have an explanation for the use of oil, the means by which it was prepared and the manner of its administration, and although there is evidence of a post-immersion anointing in earlier documents (for example, the Egyptian *CH*) they lack the sort of developed theology which *MC* presents. We have remarked already how the whole initiation rite in *MC* has a Christological emphasis and this is maintained for the post-immersion anointing; although this liturgical unit serves to convey the gift of the Holy Spirit, it does so in order that the candidates might fully become 'icons of Christ' and be called 'Christians' (*MC* 3.1). The participation by imitation in Christ's death and resurrection no longer features and instead *MC* now follows the Markan/Matthean narrative of Christ's baptism to justify the bestowal of the Holy Spirit following the water rite: 'And he having washed in the Jordan River and giving to the waters contact of divinity, he rose up from them and the very Holy Spirit came upon him, like having rested upon like' (*MC* 3.1). This the candidates have imitated:

> And as Christ was truly crucified and buried and rose, you by your baptism, in likeness, are made worthy to be have been crucified and buried and to have risen with him, so it is with the anointing. He was anointed with the spiritual oil of gladness … and you were anointed with *myron* becoming participants in and fellows of Christ. (*MC* 3.2)

It is important, though, not to overlook the Pneumatological import of this ritual – the Holy Spirit is invoked upon the chrism and is bestowed by it – so although the account of Christ's baptism provides the primary typology, it is the Spirit who is active here.

The oil for this anointing is called *myron* or *holy myron*, but even though the author calls the ritual *chrisma* and uses the verb *chre*, he never once refers to the oil itself as *chrisma*. The *myron* was quite probably prepared before the rite commenced, presumably at the same time as the water, because although the author refers to the prayer of consecration he does not do so in a manner that would remind the neophytes of something they had heard. *MC* gives the type of warning about this oil which we have found Cyril giving about the baptismal water (*Cat.* 3.3):

> But watch that you do not think the oil to be mere oil. For just as the bread of the eucharist after the invocation of the Holy Spirit is no longer plain bread, but the Body of Christ, so also this holy oil, after the invocation is not mere oil … but has become the gift of Christ

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[17]  Ibid., p. 75. He draws out four main themes in the presentation of the post-immersion anointing in *MC*: firstly that, by it, the candidates participate in an 'image exacte' of Christ's anointing by the Holy Spirit at the Jordan; secondly, that the anointing both protects the candidate and repels Satan'; thirdly, by it the candidate can be called 'christ', and lastly it is a royal and priestly anointing (pp. 75–77).

and by the appearance of his divinity, the agent of the Holy Spirit … When the body is anointed by the visible oil the soul is sanctified by the Holy and invisible Spirit. (*MC* 3.3)

Here, *MC* implies that the prayer over the *myron* includes or consists of an epiklesis of the Holy Spirit alone and that it is comparable to that over the bread, but *MC* provides two different indications of how the eucharistic elements are consecrated. In *MC* 1.7 the invocation is Trinitarian, 'For as the bread and wine of the Eucharist before the holy invocation of the adorable Trinity was simple bread and wine, while after the invocation the Bread becomes the Body of Christ and the wine the Blood of Christ …'; whereas *MC* 5.7 says, 'we call upon the merciful God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before him …'. As there is no consistent statement about the consecration of the eucharistic elements, the author may be implying that here the consecration results in a similar transformation of the oil, rather than that it is achieved in an identical manner. An epiklesis of the Holy Spirit, not of the Trinity, is more probable given that there is no reference to the Trinity in connection with the *myron* and that its function is to ritualize the gift of the Spirit.

Riley commented that, 'A concrete ceremonial reproduction of such a scene as Christ's baptism in the Jordan … a favourite mystagogical method in the Jerusalem catecheses, could well reflect the fact that in the liturgy itself the anointing was as near as possible to the leaving of the pool'.[18] We are told that, 'having got up from the pool of sacred water(s) there was the chrismation, the antitype of that [with which] Christ was chrismated' (*MC* 3.1). Whether this refers to a temporal or physical location is unclear, although we can infer that the chrismation took place in the baptistery itself as no change of location is indicated at the beginning of *MC* 3 (unlike *MC* 1.2 and 2.1). There is no hint in the text that the candidates have put on a white robe before the anointing, even though the administration of the oil would not have required the candidates to remain naked. No particular posture is implied, but as the oil was to be applied to the forehead and not to the crown of the head it is quite likely that the candidates stood. We know nothing of the minister of this ritual; had it been reserved to the bishop, we might have expected an appropriate mystagogical interpretation, but silence on the officiant of the ceremonies is a peculiar feature of *MC* as a whole.

They were anointed

first upon the forehead, in order that you may be delivered from the disgrace which the first man, a transgressor, carried everywhere, and so that you might reflect the glory of the Lord, by the uncovering of your face. Then upon the ears, so that you might receive ears to hear the divine mysteries, about which Isaiah said 'and the Lord has given me ears to hear', and the Lord Jesus in the Gospels, 'Whoever has ears to hear, let him hear'. Then upon the nose, so that having received the fragrant oil of God, you may say to God 'We are to God a fragrance of Christ in those being saved'. After this upon the breast, in order

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[18]  Riley, *Christian Initiation*, p. 370 n. 7. Riley here conflates the Jerusalem sources: whereas *Cats* might emphasize Christ's baptism, *MC* does so only in *MC* 3.

that having put on the breastplate of righteousness you may face the works of the devil. (*MC* 3.5)[19]

Each application of the *myron* leads to the re-creation of the sense which receives it: the one who has been chrismated will reflect the glory of God in his face, will comprehend divine mysteries, will be a fragrant offering to Christ and resolutely confront Satan. It is noteworthy that the interpretation of each application of the oil has neither an explicit Christological or Pneumatological explanation. The Christological explanation of the chrismation concerns its position in the rite in relation to the Jordan event and therefore it does not presuppose a signing with the cross; and as its function is to bestow the Holy Spirit, neither does it presuppose administration with a Trinitarian formula. In Mopsuestia the post-immersion anointing is accompanied by such a formula but that is most unlikely here as, were it present, one might assume that it would carry a mystagogical interpretation. It is also unlikely that a collect accompanied the four anointings (*cf AC* 7.44), as that would imply the anointing had one overall meaning, whereas we are told that each location has its own significance. It is possible, however, that the *myron* was applied with the text, or paraphrase, from scripture by which it is explained in *MC* 3.5, which would enable the candidate to understand the meaning of the ritual as it took place, as we shall suggest in our conclusions.

Ratcliff's suggestion that *MC* was merely expressing in a new way the traditional Eastern understanding of baptism by adopting this ritual[20] is only tenable if one investigates this liturgical unit in isolation from the rest of the rite. Each initiatory liturgical unit builds upon what has been achieved by the immediately preceding unit and thus, even if we can draw some parallels with the 'traditional Syrian' *pre*-immersion anointing, the fact that the benefits are now received by a *post*-immersion anointing indicates a fairly major transformation of the manner in which initiation is accomplished. It seems more probable that the major influence upon the reworking of the rite was the identification with Christ's death and burial which is consistently applied to the preceding structural unit, but which is unable to provide a type for the reception of the Spirit. This, though, only accounts for the necessity of having a post-immersion initiatory ritual and not whence it came to Jerusalem; we will return to this question at the end of our discussion of the pre-immersion anointing in the three provinces.

From *V.Porph.* we glean only the structure of the initiation rite, not the details, but there appears to be no reference to a post-immersion anointing. The only possible allusion to any post-immersion ritual *may* occur with reference to the reception of an Arian who is 'sealed again' (*V.Porph.* 57). Similarly, the other Palestinian sources are silent, which may well indicate that the anointing became established in Jerusalem whilst provincial Palestine retained the pattern of the rite discernible in *Cats.*

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[19]  The candidate is not anointed upon the mouth or on the hands.
[20]  Ratcliff, 'Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition', p. 33.

*The Syrian sources*

Only Chrysostom would seem to bear witness to the 'primitive Syrian rite' without a post-immersion anointing, as both *AC* and Mopsuestia do have such anointings, albeit with very different interpretations. Botte concluded that Antioch did not introduce a post-immersion anointing until the very end of the fourth century after finding itself 'embarrassed because they did not have a distinct rite for the gift of the Spirit';[21] others, as we have seen, suggested that Jerusalem provided the inspiration for its adoption.[22]

In a recent article on *AC* Logan has suggested, on the basis of a prayer for 'perfume' found in a Coptic version of the *Didache* which the compiler of *AC* found amongst his sources in Antioch and used as the prayer for *myron* in *AC* 7 (quoted below), that a post-immersion anointing was known in the region at the time of Ignatius and was possibly continued among certain heterodox communities. He suggests that the compiler 'may have become aware of it as practiced in Jerusalem, and thought it a good idea',[23] by which he must presume that *MC* is earlier than *AC* (he dates *AC* to 375–80)[24] but reject the idea that *CH* may have been at all influential even though that probably pre-dates *AC* by about 40 years.[25] Logan is reliant here on two speculative assumptions: that in some archive in Antioch there was a version of the *Didache* containing this perfume prayer, and that 'Cyril' had introduced a post-immersion anointing into Jerusalem during the time when he was in exile (366/7–late 378).[26] Logan is right to draw our attention to this Coptic fragment but in doing so he does not provide a convincing account of the presence of this anointing in *AC*.

In all three accounts of initiation in *AC* there is a post-immersion anointing, however its function within the rite and the terminology used differs between them and this has been interpreted by Metzger 'as the proof that in the evolution of the Syrian baptismal ritual *AC* dates from the time when the second anointing was introduced'.[27] We will notice that Theodore is much more explicit about the meaning and administration of this rite, although its absence in Chrysostom's preaching approximately 10 years after *AC* would indicate that such evolution was quite piecemeal. We have discussed earlier that the Holy Spirit is bestowed by the pre-immersion anointing in *AC* 3.16 and 7.22 and, although *AC* 7.42–4 does not indicate that the Spirit is given in any one liturgical action, we will note that the post-immersion anointing has a purely Christological emphasis.

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[21]  Botte, 'Postbaptismal anointing', p. 69.

[22]  Ratcliff and Winkler (as above); Kretschmar, 'Recent Research': 91.

[23]  Logan, 'Post-baptismal Chrismation': 97.

[24]  Ibid.: 93.

[25]  'Appeal to an emerging rite of post-baptismal chrism in Egypt in the early fourth century as attested in the *Canons of Hippolytus* is not particularly relevant since in them it is presbyteral, not episcopal, and involves oil not *muron* and since the work seems to be derived from the so-called *Apostolic Tradition*, itself a community product reflecting a Western combination of pre-baptismal exorcistic anointing and post-baptismal chrismation with oil.' Ibid.: 104.

[26]  For the dates of Cyril's exiles see Stephenson, *Works of St Cyril* (FoC vol. 61), p. 29.

[27]  Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques* (SChr 329), p. 94.

In *AC* 3, on leaving the water the candidates are to be received either by a deacon or deaconess, as appropriate, and they are then anointed with *myron* by the bishop (*AC* 3.16,4) which serves to 'confirm the confession' (*AC* 3.17,1). Similarly in *AC* 7.22, 2, the post-immersion anointing is also described in relation to the candidate's declaration of faith, here 'the *myron* is seal of the contract'. If Varghese is correct, then by 'confession', the compilers must mean that which is implied by the whole initiation rite, or the Trinitarian formula recited over the candidate in the water. This anointing has a rather weak significance compared to the clearly defined chrismation of *MC* 3,[28] which would seem to be confirmed by the prayer of blessing for the *myron* is given in *AC* 7.27:

> We give you thanks, O God, creator of all things, for the sweet scent of the *myron*, and for the eternal immortality which was made known to us through Jesus your child, for to you is the glory and the power for ever. Amen.

This prayer contains no epiklesis and no supplication for either the oil or the recipient but is simply a very general thanksgiving.

The post-immersion anointing in *AC* 7.44 occurs immediately after the immersion, and appears to be accompanied by a prayer which maintains the Christological emphasis of this rite:

> O Lord, the unbegotten and sovereign God, Lord of all things, who sends the fragrant scent of knowledge of the gospel into all nations, permit now that this *myron* work upon the one who is baptized, so that the fragrance of your Christ may remain upon him, safe and secure, and that having died with Him and having risen with Him, he may live with Him. (*AC* 7.44, 1–2)

Metzger considered this to be the misplaced blessing of the *myron*: 'In this ritual the prayer over the water precedes the immersion, whilst here the compiler gives the prayer over the myron only after mentioning the anointing, additionally this prayer duplicates that in [*AC* 7] 27.'[29] There is a distinction, though, between the prayer in 7.27 and that of 7.44 as only in the latter is there an explicit request to strengthen the candidate's identification with Christ. In none of these accounts is there any information about the manner in which the oil was administered; if the candidate was still naked, it might be by a pouring of oil; if *sphragis* in 7.22 indicates a signing with the cross, then it might be applied more specifically.

Ratcliff's paper appeared when *Cats* and *MC* were still considered to be of the same date, *c*. 350, and so he could suggest that the post-immersion anointing in *AC* 7 was prompted by Jerusalem and Cyril's lectures (*sic MC*);[30] with our rejection of such an early date for *MC* and a working hypothesis of the 380s as the earliest date, we would wish to ask whether in fact it was *MC* which was influenced by *AC*.[31] *AC*

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[28] Van de Eynde noted in 1937 how in *AC* the immersion appears to be the highlight of the initiation rite and not the post-immersion anointing 'Baptême et Confirmation d'après les *Constitutions Apostoliques*, VII,44,3' *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 27 (1937): 199.

[29] Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques* (SChr 336), p. 105 n.

[30] Ratcliff, 'Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition', p. 35.

[31] In chapter 3 we accepted Metzger's date of *c*. 380 for *AC*.

uses the same term for this oil, *myron*, as *MC*, and also sustains the Christological interpretation of the whole rite into this ritual, but what distinguishes these two is the moment of the ritual bestowal of the Holy Spirit. The maintenance of the traditional Syrian pattern of a pre-immersion Pneumatological anointing in *AC* appears to be a ritual incoherence in a rite which principally uses Romans' typology and, as Botte suggested,

> it seems the redactor finds himself in the midst of two traditions, the ancient Syrian usage which only knows of the prebaptismal anointing and the more recent usage whose meaning he still does not understand very well.[32]

*If* the presence of a post-immersion anointing with myron in *MC* is based upon that in *AC*, then the Jerusalem church has removed this 'incoherence'.

For Chrysostom's candidates, initiation is completed by the immersion and the post-immersion rituals he describes are all 'transitional' rather than initiatory. Both Wenger and Piédagnel are surprised by Chrysostom's omission of this anointing and suggest that his silence on this matter is not proof that he did not know of such a ritual.[33] Piédagnel explained its absence by suggesting that the post-immersion anointing was incorporated into the Antiochene rite after Chrysostom preached the *Cats* or that it was present but not consistently used, so that 'Chrysostom simply continued to present and comment upon the rituals of the baptismal liturgy which he had previously known'.[34] This view is based upon Theodore also having preached his baptismal homilies in Antioch, but even if Piédagnel had accepted that they were from Mopsuestia, it remains highly unlikely that Chrysostom would have ignored an actual ritual out of a regard for tradition in two separate series of lectures. Secondly, Piédagnel suggested that, 'without ignoring or neglecting this postbaptismal ritual, Chrysostom considered that the two essential moments of the initiation rite were the immersion and the eucharist', and with the transformation of the candidate effected completely by the reception of the Holy Spirit in the water, 'was it absolutely necessary to add any other remarks after the accomplishment of such a mystery …?'.[35] Here again, Piédagnel's proposal seems unlikely, as given that for Chrysostom all the benefits of baptism are completed in the immersion, the rite he described required nothing else. Chrysostom does not mention a post-immersion anointing because the liturgy for which he was preparing his candidates did not have one and Botte's argument from silence appears an adequate explanation.[36]

We have remarked already how the Mopsuestian rite shows Antiochene influence in its pre-immersion and immersion rituals and hitherto has been quite dissimilar to *MC,* however now Theodore presents a post-immersion 'signing' for the reception of

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[32]  Botte, B., 'Postbaptismal anointing', p. 66. Logan ('Post-Baptismal Chrismation': 93) also interpreted 'the range and ambiguity of his varying explanations' as a sign that it was thought necessary but not understood.

[33]  Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 100; Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 71.

[34]  Ibid.

[35]  Ibid., pp. 71–2.

[36]  Botte, 'Postbaptismal anointing', p. 63.

the Holy Spirit which is justified theologically and typologically in the same terms as *MC* 3. Theodore too appeals to the descent of the Spirit upon Christ:

> When Jesus came up out of the water, he received the grace of the Holy Spirit … This shows that the Holy Spirit never leaves him, just as the anointing attaches to those who are anointed by men with oil and never leaves them. You too, then, must be sealed on the forehead. (*Hom.* 3.27)[37]

He also cites Luke 4:18 and Acts 10:38 (*Hom.* 3.27), but not the Old Testament types which *MC* 3.6 employs.

The Mopsuestian rite parts company with that of Jerusalem in the manner of administering the 'signing' and the precise means by which the Spirit is conveyed. Theodore says:

> When you have received grace by means of baptism, then, and put on this shining white garment, the bishop comes to you and puts a seal on your forehead, saying: 'N. is sealed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.' This sign shows you that when the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit were named, the Holy Spirit came upon you'. (*Hom.* 3.27)[38]

In *MC*, it is by the prior invocation upon the *myron* that the Holy Spirit is present and is bestowed, but Theodore says that the Trinitarian formula, which is identical to those used at the pre-immersion anointing and the immersion, effects the gift of the Spirit. Lampe questioned whether this 'signing' was indeed administered with oil,[39] there being no clear indication of its use in the description of the ritual; however, when explaining the significance of the 'signing', Theodore does connect oil and anointing with the Spirit as we have seen in the two extracts from *Hom.* 3.27, although he says nothing about the nature of this oil. This anointing also differs from the Jerusalem rite by being administered to the forehead only.

*Comparison with Jerusalem and Palestine*   The absence of a post-immersion anointing in Chrysostom is further evidence that his rite and *MC* have nothing in common, however the relationship between the other West Syrian sources and *MC* is more difficult to discern. We have followed the consensus in dating *AC* to *c*. 380, and thus it predates *MC*. Should the latter be dependent upon the former, then whereas *AC* shows the incorporation of the post-immersion ritual (and a change in typology) without a revision of the Antiochene pattern of initiation as far as the immersion, *MC* adopts these features within a completely revised rite. But, such are the distinctions we have noted between these two sources with regard to this ritual, it is impossible to discern any direct relationship between them.

Theodore parts company decisively from the Antiochene rite, with which he was certainly familiar, in the reservation of the gift of the Spirit to a post-immersion ritual. The Pneumatological import of this ritual makes it unlikely that he was influenced

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[37]   *AIRI*, p. 198.
[38]   Ibid.
[39]   'His [Theodore's] language about anointing is not to be taken literally but as a reference to the unction of the Spirit that is received in Baptism', Lampe, *Seal*, p. 202 n. 4.

by *AC*. He does invest this ritual with the same typology and function as *MC*, but if Jerusalem was his model then he has not merely imported it but made alterations so that it conformed to the rest of the rite, by the uniform formula and by distinguishing its function from other rituals. We can only conclude, that even though there are significant variations between *MC* and the Mopsuestian rite, they are closer than Theodore and *AC*.

## The Egyptian sources

The Alexandrian sources have nothing to say about a post immersion anointing: there are no hints from Athanasius, and in the sequence of the rite in *CR* 2.8 the candidates go from the font to the eucharist. Spinks, however, referring to Logan's assessment of the rites in Egyptian gnostic communities suggested that there was evidence of a post-immersion anointing in Egypt at least in the third century[40] and Bradshaw concluded that such an anointing was (re-)introduced in the fourth century, the traditional pattern in Egypt being without any post-immersion rituals.[41] Johnson also suggests that this is a fourth-century introduction to the Egyptian rite based upon what he identified as a change of principal typology from that of Christ's baptism to that of Romans 6.[42] If any one of these views is correct it obviously affects our investigation of a relationship of influence between *MC* and Egypt.

In *CH* 19, the candidates are anointed immediately upon leaving the font, while still naked:

> Then he comes up from the water. The presbyter takes the oil of thanksgiving and signs his forehead, his mouth and his breast, and anoints all his body, his head and his face, saying, 'I anoint you in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit'. And he wipes him with a cloth which he keeps for him.[43]

This oil, earlier also referred to as the 'oil of anointing', was blessed by the bishop before the renunciation at the same time as the oil of exorcism and the baptismal water. At that point we are told that it was given to a presbyter by the bishop and that this presbyter stood on the right of the bishop; here however it says that the presbyter 'takes the oil of thanksgiving', which would only be appropriate if the number of ministers stipulated were not available. We have remarked already that the bishop takes no active part in this rite after consecrating the elements, and here again he delegates both the action and the formula.

Bradshaw commented that the list of locations which receive the oil show 'some similarity to the practice described by Cyril of Jerusalem' [*sic MC*] and that this might corroborate Cuming's suggestion of Egyptian influence upon the Jerusalem liturgy.[44] The sequence in *MC* 3.5 is forehead, ears, nose and breast which corresponds to only two locations in *CH* and we have concluded that in *MC* the accompanying

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[40] Spinks, 'Judicious Reassessment': 259; Logan, 'Post-Baptismal Chrismation': 92–107.
[41] Bradshaw, 'Baptismal Practice', pp. 15–16.
[42] Johnson, *Prayers of Sarapion*, p. 138.
[43] Bradshaw, *Canons of Hippolytus*, pp. 23–4.
[44] Ibid., p. 23n; Cuming, 'Egyptian elements': 123.

mystagogy implies a specific and localized application of the oil. In *CH*, whereas it is likely that the forehead, mouth and breast received the oil in this manner, the further anointing of the body, head and face would presumably have been more indiscriminate. *MC* gives no formula for the chrismation, but we have suggested that the paraphrases from scripture which explained the anointing of each sense may have been incorporated into a petition; by contrast, *CH* gives a Trinitarian formula which was recited only once and not when anointing each location. In *MC*, the chrismation completes the initiation rite, but in *CH* the rite still demands an episcopal hand-laying and second anointing. The lack of a theological rationale for this ritual in *CH* greatly hampers our ability to make comparisons with a rite like *MC* where each element has a clearly worked out mystagogy. Thus, although the existence of a post-immersion anointing in Egypt before its adoption in Jerusalem may indicate the direction of travel as Cuming suggested, the distinctive manner in which the latter appropriated this ritual weakens the case for a direct relationship between these sources.

*Ser.* 16 is a prayer for the consecration of oil for a post-immersion anointing, but as it is not with the other baptismal prayers, the moment of its recitation and the subsequent anointing with the consecrated oil must be inferred from the contents of the prayer:

> God of hosts, the Helper of every soul who turns to you and comes under the powerful hand of your only-begotten; we call upon you that through the divine and invisible power of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, you may work in this chrism (*chrisma*) a divine and heavenly work in order that those who have been baptized and those who are anointed with it – with the imprint of the sign of the saving cross of the only-begotten, by which cross Satan and every hostile power was confounded and triumphed over – they having been reborn and renewed through the washing of regeneration, may also become partakers of the gift of the holy Spirit. And being safeguarded by this seal, may remain steadfast and unchangeable, unharmed and safe, blameless and unassailable, dwelling in faith and knowledge of the truth to the end, awaiting the heavenly hopes of life and eternal promises of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom, etc. …[45]

The direct invocation upon the oil and the petition that this oil will then effect a transformation of the candidate demonstrate that this is a consecratory prayer and not one to accompany its administration. An unresolved issue, however, is when this prayer was recited in the initiation rite: before the rite commenced and therefore perhaps following *Ser.* 7, or immediately before the anointing and thus after *Ser.* 11? Brightman, followed by Barrett-Lennard, placed 16 after 11;[46] Johnson, however, considers the insertion of prayer 16 after 11 unwarranted, believing that prayer 11 reads like a concluding prayer to the entire rite, but he makes no suggestion as to how Serapion might have used prayer 16.[47] In *CH* 19, we noticed that the elements for the rite were blessed before it commenced, and that too is what we have presumed

[45] Barrett-Lennard, *Sacramentary of Sarapion*, pp. 40–1.

[46] Brightman, 'Sacramentary': 89 and 253; Barrett-Lennard, *Sacramentary of Sarapion*, p. 40.

[47] Johnson, *Early Christian Egypt*, p. 15; Barrett-Lennard, *Sacramentary of Sarapion*, pp. 141–3.

occurred in *MC*, but we have noticed that in *AC* 7.44 the blessing of the *myron* is placed at the point of its administration: there being no consistent pattern it is not possible to conclude the precise position of *Ser.* 16.

This prayer does not relate the anointing to any one biblical type. The invocation of Christ, which we have seen is a distinctive feature of this rite, effects the reception of the Holy Spirit although the chrismation itself is explained as a prophylactic against the assaults of Satan. The candidate, having come up from the font, is to be anointed in an unspecified location with the sign of the cross and by this action they are 'sealed'; although, as Barrett-Lennard points out, whether the seal refers to the gift of the Spirit or to the initiation as a whole is ambiguous.[48]

The way in which *Ser.* and *MC* incorporate Romans typology has different consequences for the post-immersion anointing. Although *Ser.* 16 does refer to Satan, there is no principal biblical typology not even that of Romans 6 and the prayer does not imply any participation in or imitation of Christ; *MC* 3.2, on the other hand, refers to the candidates' identification with Christ, not just in his death, burial and resurrection, but also by being 'anointed with the Spirit' as Christ was at his baptism. Both texts do though share a similar understanding of the protection now afforded the candidates: in *MC* 3.4, by the baptism and chrismation they have put on the panoply of the Holy Spirit and thus will be resistant to the enemy; similarly in *Ser.* 16, the chrismation protects the candidate from Satan and by receiving the 'seal' they will be 'unharmed and safe, blameless and unassailable'.

*Comparison with Jerusalem and Palestine*   The absence of evidence for a post-immersion anointing in the patriarchal see in the fourth century and its existence in the provinces of Egypt does pose questions about any transmission of this ritual to Jerusalem. Is it likely that *parvenu* Jerusalem would have incorporated a provincial Egyptian rite that fundamentally changed its liturgy from the 'Syrian' pattern evident in *Cats*? The similarities between the post-immersion anointing of *MC* and *CH* reside merely in the existence of such an anointing and that in both it is administered to the forehead and breast (among other locations), however the differences enumerated above would indicate that *MC* was not borrowing directly from a rite like *CH*. *Ser.* 16 is much closer to *MC* 3, but differences exist in the manner of consecration, the signing with the cross and reference to 'seal'. The connections between *MC* and these Egyptian sources are closer than say *MC* and Theodore, but it would be difficult to argue that the immediate source for *MC* was these Egyptian rituals, although it could be argued that something very like them may have influenced Jerusalem practice.

*Summary conclusion: the post-immersion anointing*

Hitherto, the rites we have been examining had common secondary structural units even though the administration of these differed; it is, however, with the post immersion anointing that the divergence in the structure of the Eastern rites becomes particularly marked. We have concluded that Cyril does not imply such an anointing in *Cats*, neither is there any evidence for its administration elsewhere in Palestine

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[48]   Barrett-Lennard, *Sacramentary of Sarapion*, p. 25 and p. 41.

even after the period in which we could safely assume Jerusalem had adopted it. Winkler and subsequently Johnson have suggested that the introduction of the chrismation was part of the process of incorporating Romans typology into rites hitherto based upon the Jordan event; however, we have noticed that in this context *MC* mentions such typology in an aside but expressly bases the gift of the Holy Spirit on her descent upon Christ at his baptism. For *MC*, the candidates' identification with Christ is not complete until they have received the Spirit, then they are called a christ and a Christian; this is not effected by identification with his death and resurrection alone.

None of the sources examined here have presented any demonstrable relationship with *MC*. In *AC*, despite a shared typology and ritual structure, the post-immersion anointing has an ambiguous role which has been explained by the anointing being recently introduced. For those who wish to date *MC* to the same decade as that presumed for *AC* (the 380s), the rather vague understanding in the latter contrasts with the developed theology and mystagogy of the former: surely we might expect such novel ritual in Jerusalem to be similarly vague in its presentation? Evidence for a clarification of this ritual may also be found in Theodore who, although referring to it only briefly, does so with a degree of clarity as to its function and administration. Theodore's *Homs*, we have concluded, date from his episcopate in Mopsuestia (392 to 428): should, therefore, *MC* bear witness to liturgical evolution affecting the Syrian rites, then given the late date for the adoption and clarification of the post-immersion anointing in West Syria, it would seem possible that *MC* is later than has been thought.

If, though, we follow Cuming's suggestion and attribute the introduction of the post-immersion anointing to Egyptian influence upon Jerusalem, then the presence for this ritual in two earlier sources in that province, although not in the patriarchal see, possibly provided the model used by the author of *MC*. We have noted though, that whereas *CH* describes a somewhat similar application of the oil its purpose is not to bestow the Spirit, and conversely, whereas *Ser.* implies a similar purpose for the chrism the administration differs. There is then no direct relationship between these Egyptian sources and *MC*, although there might be an indirect one.

In our presentation above, which analyses sources according to provenance, we have not been able to comment on similarities with *MC* on the basis of the genres of our sources but here such an observation may be illuminating. The first evidence for a post-immersion anointing in the provinces of Egypt and West Syria is found in texts from the 'family' of *AT*. Might this suggest that *MC* was influenced by whatever form in which *AT* was circulating in the East and which may lie behind both *AC* and *CH*? Does the presence of this ritual and its distinct presentation in each of these sources indicate an original and regional appropriation of this liturgical unit from some other source, which might be a version of *AT*? A full discussion of this issue is beyond the scope of the work here, which aims to examine questions of regional influence, but we will return to it in the conclusions.

**The Transitional Rituals**

Thomas M. Finn paints, by his own admission, a 'composite picture' of the post baptismal rites which he believes is 'fairly representative' of the late fourth century:

> As the newly baptized came up out of the baptismal pool, they prayed the Lord's Prayer, sent prayers of intercession heavenward, vested in white garments, received lighted candles and sometimes were crowned with garlands. They proceed to the eucharist often chanting Psalm 22 (23) … .[49]

Composite pictures of any structural unit tend to cloud the interpretation of initiation rites in this period by obscuring the distinctiveness of the practices in each province and that distinctiveness is most evident in the post-immersion rituals.[50] In some provinces candidates did indeed experience the rituals Finn describes, however it is too simplistic to propose that by the end of the fourth century the process of harmonization between sees and their rites was nearing completion when our discussion hitherto has demonstrated that the pattern of initiation in the Eastern provinces was subject to wide variation in detail if less so in structure.

In the rites under investigation, the candidates become full members of the church by receiving the eucharist for the first time but between the font and the altar they may have been anointed and then experienced one or more of the following rituals: imposition of hands, blessings, (white) robe, procession into church, prayers by or for the neophytes, kiss, liturgical greeting, lighted torches, a specific episcopal ritual. Where there is a post-immersion anointing we have seen that it adds something which was not conveyed by the preceding rituals and is, therefore, initiatory; rituals which do not add to what has been achieved but which demonstrate that the candidates have been initiated and now take their place within the worshipping community, we have called 'transitional'. It is important to distinguish these secondary structural units by being clear about the function, initiatory or transitional, which each ritual has within the whole process. We would be wary of placing the baptismal garment and the lighted candle within a discussion of 'Sacraments of Initiation' or 'confirmation' [*sic*] and 'entry into the church and greeting' within a chapter called 'Confirmation' as Yarnold has done, when the former add nothing to the initiation and the latter cannot be equated with 'Confirmation' in the Western rites.[51]

Although we make a necessary distinction between the anointing and the other post-immersion rituals, it seems obvious that the presence/absence of the former will affect the subsequent sequence of the rite. A cursory glance at the evidence suggests that where there is an anointing other rituals tend to be given less emphasis in the descriptive sources (that is homilies, as opposed to prescriptive church orders). This may indicate that there were such rituals but they were not deemed important, or more probably that they had been displaced by the introduction of a post-immersion

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[49] Matthew T. Finn, *Early Christian Baptism and the Catechumenate: Italy, North Africa, and Egypt* (Message of the Fathers of the Church, vol. 6. Collegeville, 1992), p. 16.

[50] As Finn himself admits (*Early Christian Baptism*, p. 15).

[51] *AIRI*, p. vii–viii.

anointing. A notable feature of transitional rituals is that their mystagogy bears little or no relation to the dominant typology of the initiation rite: for example, the white robe is never explained in terms of the imitation of Christ or of Pauline death/resurrection imagery. The lack of theological coherence at this point serves to emphasize further that they are indeed transitional and not initiatory.

## Jerusalem and Palestine

Interpretations of the transitional rituals in Jerusalem have been greatly affected by the use of Egeria's account to fill in the gaps where our other sources are silent or unclear; Baldovin, for example, suggested that the ceremonies described by Egeria were 'omitted' by Cyril, by which he means *MC*.[52] It is important, though, to assess the quality of her evidence before using it. She describes the conclusion of the baptismal rite as follows:

> They keep their paschal vigil like us, but there is one addition. As soon as the *infants* have been baptized and clothed, and left the font, they are led with the bishop straight to the Anastasis. The bishop goes into the railed area and after one hymn says a prayer for them. Then he returns with them to the church, where all the people are keeping the vigil in the usual way. (*It.Eg.* 38.1)[53]

How much of this has Egeria actually witnessed? It is highly unlikely that a woman religious who did not speak Greek would have been permitted to assist with baptisms in a province from which there is not even evidence for the specific ministry of deaconesses. More probably, she was 'keeping the vigil in the usual way' and so what she would have actually seen was the candidates' entry into the Martyrium; her account of the rest is more likely to be from second-hand reports. Egeria gives the sequence 'baptized and clothed, and left the font' which would have been self evident from the sight of the neophytes entering the Martyrium; but is this a complete sequence? If the candidates were baptized according the rite suggested in *Cats* then it may well be; if though they were baptized according that described in *MC* then she has omitted the chrismation, which admittedly would not be easily inferred. Here again our assessment of Egeria's evidence is dependent upon the unresolved question of the date and authorship of *MC*.

By this stage the neophytes were dressed, but does Egeria mean us to understand the robe was white? Wilkinson concluded that she did: 'Then they were clothed in white and went with the bishop to the Anastasis.'[54] Pétré also clarified the text by adding 'white' to her translation.[55] Egeria, however, merely says that they were clothed, *uestiti*. Similarly, how should we interpret the procession to the Anastasis and the bishop's actions there? This is the second post-baptismal procession she describes, the first occurring in her account of the ceremonies at Aenon, where:

[52] John Baldovin, *Liturgy in Ancient Jerusalem* (Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 9. Nottingham, 1989), p. 19.

[53] Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, p. 157.

[54] Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, p. 58.

[55] H. Pétré, *Éthérie: Journal de Voyage* (SChr 21. Paris, 1948), p. 241.

at Easter the candidates who are to be baptized from the village … receive their actual baptism in the spring itself. Then directly afterwards, they go off by torchlight singing psalms and antiphons and accompanied by the clergy and monks. In this way they are taken after their baptism from the spring to the church of the holy Melchizedek. (*It.Eg.* 15.5)[56]

Can these two processions be equated? At Aenon, it was necessary to return to the parish church in the dark to complete the Easter ceremonies, hence the torches. In Jerusalem, there is no evidence of the procession being accompanied by lights, neither does *MC* give any mystagogy for a lighted candle. But, it is not unlikely that the newly baptized in Jerusalem did enter the Martyrium with the bishop and other clergy and their entrance is likely to have interrupted the vigil, or at least occurred at a convenient moment; elsewhere she describes the bishop's entry at the offices as being of particular import, this may well also have been a significant procession.[57] Pétré suggested that Psalm 22 was sung during the procession.[58] In Aenon there was chanting during the procession, but in Jerusalem Egeria says that the hymn was sung *in* the Anastasis: the *ymnus* (*It.Eg.*38.1) may well have been a psalm, although Egeria is more explicit about Aenon's procession where they chanted *psalmos uel antiphonas* (*It.Eg.* 15.5). Pétré's precision in this matter seems rather ambitious, especially as there is no evidence for the use of a specific psalm in Jerusalem or Palestine.

Egeria tells us that the procession from the baptistery to the Martyrium went via the Anastasis where the bishop said a prayer. It is of course possible that she inferred that they had been to the Anastasis because the procession entered the Martyrium from the west; archaeological plans of the complex show that it would have been possible for them to enter from the north or south side of the sanctuary. Interpreting what constituted the bishop's prayer in the Anastasis has depended upon a nexus of conclusions about *Cats* and *MC*. If *It.Eg.* precedes *MC*, then we will need to search for evidence of such a ritual in *Cats*: but, if Egeria is referring to the rite in *MC* we can at least discount any suggestion that the chrismation took place in the Anastasis since there is no indication of a change in location in *MC* 3, nor reference to specifically episcopal acts, nor a mystagogy of the chrismation based upon the symbolism of the resurrection which we might expect to have been developed. The following examination of transitional rituals alluded to in *Cats* and *MC* will try to shed light on Egeria's 'Anastasis prayer'.

Cyril is not explicit about any post-immersion or transitional rituals but may be hinting at the latter when telling the candidates that they will learn '… with what reverence and order you ought to go from the baptism to the holy altar of God and there to enjoy its spiritual and heavenly mysteries' (*Cat.* 18.32). If we were to conflate this ambiguous comment with *It.Eg.*, then we would presume that these candidates participated in the transitional rituals we have just discussed. In *Cats*, however, there

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[56]  Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, p. 127.

[57]  Hesychius' sermon (*Hom 3, In S. Pascha*) preached at the Easter vigil in the 420s or 430s does not mention baptism, which would indicate that he preached it before the neophytes entered the church. See M. Aubineau, *Les Homélies d'Hésychius de Jérusalem* (Subsidia Hagiographica, vol. 59. Bruxelles, 1978), pp. 76–96.

[58]  Pétré, *Éthérie*, p. 241 n. 5.

is no evidence for a procession, nor hymnody, nor lights, nor a baptismal garment; but Cyril may possibly allude to an imposition of hands and if by 'sealing' he means a specific ritual, then these might constitute Egeria's Anastasis prayer.

Cyril says, as if finding himself carried away with his subject,

> … under Moses the Spirit was given by the imposition of hands; Peter also gave the Spirit through the imposition of hands; and upon you who are to be baptized grace shall come; but I will not tell you how, as I will not anticipate the appropriate moment. (*Cat.* 16.26)

This is ambiguous: either there was an imposition of hands by which the Holy Spirit was bestowed, or his refusal to say 'how' indicates that the Spirit was bestowed by some other means. Baldovin certainly does interpret this as an imposition of hands,[59] but elsewhere Cyril clearly says that the Holy Spirit is received in the water (*Cat.* 3.14; 17.14). Given Cyril's lack of clarity about an imposition of hands, it seems unlikely that this is what Egeria meant by the prayer in the Anastasis; such a ritual for the bestowal of the Spirit would be initiatory, but that described by Egeria after having left the 'font' (baptistery) is transitional as the uninitiated were not permitted to enter the cave.[60] Additionally, it does seem curious that the neophytes would be taken to the Anastasis to celebrate their own 'resurrection', and then join the faithful in the Martyrium to complete the vigil at which the Resurrection gospel had not yet been heard. We conclude that *Cats* offers no corroboration of the Anastasis prayer.

We would not expect to find much of use in *Procat.* whose concern is to encourage the candidates to prepare for initiation: there is not even a reference to reception of the eucharist, although ambiguous references to clothing might imply a baptismal robe. Cyril refers to the ill-clad guest at the wedding feast who should have worn a wedding robe, by implication white (*Procat.* 3), but in this context the guests (the candidates) are to *enter* the marriage feast (baptism) with pure intentions (the white garment) so as not to be rejected; this does not seem to refer to any post-immersion ritual. We have considered in chapter 5 whether '… you have a long time to put off and to wash, to put on and to enter in' (*Procat.* 4) implies the sequence of the rite and if it does then 'put on' may refer to a baptismal garment, even though this is more naturally interpreted as an allusion to 'putting off/on the old/new self' (Colossians 3:9f). One fruit of baptism described in *Procat.* is 'the garment of light' (*Procat.* 16), although the context might suggest an eschatological rather than an actual clothing. In *Procat.* then, despite these references to clothing, none equate directly with a baptismal robe.

*MC* gives no information about any other post-immersion rituals apart from the chrismation, although there is reference to a robe in *MC* 4 which fits badly into the context of a discussion of the eucharistic elements:

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[59]  Baldovin, *Liturgy in Ancient Jerusalem*, p. 19.

[60]  Every reference to the location of *Cats* indicates that they were delivered in the Martyrium, however in announcing the post-baptismal instruction he says that the neophytes will assemble in the Anastasis (*Cat.* 18.33). Egeria too says that these lectures were delivered in the Anastasis which was closed to the unbaptized (*It.Eg.* 47.2).

… Solomon [says] … and let your garments always be white, so that the Lord may be well pleased with your deeds, for before you came to grace, your deeds were 'vanity of vanities'. But having put off your old garments and having put on those which are spiritually white, you must be white throughout. We do not really mean that it is necessary for you to be always wearing white, but it is necessary to be clad in a white, radiant and spiritual [garment], so that you can say, with the blessed Isaiah, 'Let my soul rejoice in the Lord for he has clothed me with the garment of salvation and he has covered me with a robe of gladness'. (*MC* 4.8)

This may well refer to a baptismal robe, as Yarnold has suggested,[61] even though the explanation appears metaphorical and the author is less than specific about the type of garment. The presence of these comments in a lecture on the institution narrative may well suggest that the author had not previously found an opportunity to explain the meaning of the robe they were now wearing.

Baldovin was concerned that *MC* did not refer to rituals present in the other Jerusalem sources and he explains Cyril's [*sic*] omission by assuming that he 'was more interested in interpreting the notable elements of the rite than in giving a blow by blow commentary on every single element in it'.[62] There is no mention in *MC* of an exclusively episcopal rite such as an imposition of hands, no torchlight procession from the baptistery to the Martyrium via the Anastasis, no greeting of the neophytes by the Faithful in the Martyrium. Unlike *AC* 7.45 and *CH* 19, there are no prayers by or for the candidates after chrismation and as the Lord's Prayer is explained where it occurs within the eucharistic liturgy it is unlikely to have been recited on leaving the font. The author of *MC* has indeed explained the 'notable elements' and, if these other rituals existed then their omission here confirms their place as transitional rather than initiatory; however it is equally likely that, given the different liturgies to which the Jerusalem sources bear witness, the introduction of the post-immersion anointing led to a diminution or removal of whatever transitional rituals may have existed. In *MC* itself the rite of initiation is concluded by the last sacramental act, the chrismation: the sole rite of transition is reception of the eucharist with the possible presence of a baptismal robe, albeit with a limited significance.

For Gaza, we have limited information about post-immersion and transitional rituals. There is no evidence for a post-immersion anointing, but it would seem that the neophytes did wear a baptismal robe for a period of time following their baptism. When Salaphtha decides to dedicate herself to the monastic life, Mark informs us that after she had put off the 'holy robe' (*to agion schēma*), she is sent to the Deaconess Manaris/Photini and receives the monastic habit (*to kanonikōn schēma*) (*V.Porph.* 101–2). That both 'robes' are called *schēma* would indicate that the baptismal robe was seen in some sense as similar to the monastic habit, either in appearance or in intent, however it is not described as white.

There are two accounts of the reception of heretics into 'orthodoxy' which might possibly shed light on post-immersion rituals in Gaza. Porphyrius and the bishop of Caesarea receive an Arian boat captain by sealing him, praying over him and giving him the 'divine mysteries' (eucharist) (*V.Porph.* 57). The spurious seventh canon

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[61] *AIRI*, p. 31.

[62] Baldovin, *Liturgy in Ancient Jerusalem*, p. 19.

of the Council of Constantinople (381) states that Arians were to be received by anathematising their heresy and then, 'they are sealed or anointed with holy Chrism on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, mouth and ears. As we seal them we say, "The seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit"'.[63] If this canon is from within our time period, and we are mindful of Varghese's conclusion that it dates from the second half of the fifth century,[64] then it may point to a ritual to complete baptism which is not too dissimilar to that in *MC* 3.4.[65] However, if this ritual is only for the reception of heretics and schismatics, then we cannot expect this episode to provide us with evidence of the normal post-immersion sequence in Gaza. The followers of the Manichean Julia who are described as 'neophytes' had, it seems, undergone an 'orthodox' baptism, but one which was incomplete in some way; Mark the Deacon tells us that they were not yet 'confirmed in the holy faith' (*V.Porph.* 85). They are not 'sealed', but catechized and then received into the church (*V.Porph.* 91). Again this episode tells little more about the post-immersion rituals in Gaza.

The evidence presented does not indicate any uniformity in the Palestinian transitional rituals. On balance it seems that a robe/garment was used in Jerusalem and in Gaza; there were no special prayers recited by the neophytes and none for them except in Egeria's rather suspect account; and we cannot be sure about an imposition of hands in mid-fourth-century Jerusalem. The silence about transitional rituals in *MC* indicates either that they were unimportant, that they did not exist or they had been suppressed; the author attaches significance only to the chrismation.

*The Syrian sources*

In *AC* 3.18 and 7.45 the candidates are to recite the Lord's Prayer after the post-immersion anointing and in both cases this recitation is described as the sign of their membership of the community. Although in *AC* 3 there is no indication of the manner in which the prayer is to be recited, in 7.45 the candidates' new status is also signalled by their posture:

> Next [the candidate] is to pray standing up the prayer which our Lord taught us. It is clearly necessary for one who has been resurrected to stand and pray because one who has been raised up stands up; that one stands who has died with Christ and been raised with him. [The candidate] prays facing East … . (*AC* 7.45.1–2)

This is followed by a second prayer for themselves:

> O God, creator of all, Father of your Christ, your only-begotten Son, give me a body without blemish, a clean heart, a vigilant mind, steadfast knowledge, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, to have and be filled with the truth through your Christ, through whom be glory to you in the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen. (*AC* 7.45.3)

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[63] Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1, p. 35.

[64] Varghese, *Les Onctions Baptismales*, p. 119.

[65] Although, *MC* does not use 'sealing' at all, let alone in connection with the chrismation.

It is notable that in the only other sources to give concluding collects (*CH* 19 and *Ser.* 11) these are prayed by the bishop and not the candidate. In *AC* there is no reference to a robe, a greeting by the bishop or people, lights or a solemn procession. Whereas we found similarities between *AC* and *MC* in the presence of the post-immersion anointing, these are not evident in the transitional rituals; indeed as we have seen, none of the Palestinian sources speak of the recitation of the Lord's Prayer or of any other prayer by the candidate in this context.

Chrysostom also presents transitional rituals which find no parallel in Palestine, namely the kiss and greeting, and intercessory prayer. In *Stav.* 2 the purpose of these rituals is to teach us 'from what they have been liberated and what they have obtained who have been found worthy of the mystical initiation' (*Stav.* 2.27); that is, these do not complete initiation but demonstrate that it has been completed. He explains that the candidates will be greeted with a kiss, which Wenger equated with that occurring before the eucharist;[66] consequently in *P-K* 3, Chrysostom would appear to have been led to discuss the kiss at the eucharist because of its place after the immersion.[67] Quasten, however, understood it as representing entry into the 'brotherhood', implied also in *Stav.* 2.[68]

In both series, the candidates are expected to intercede for specific categories. In *P-K* 3, Chrysostom asks the candidates to offer prayers for himself, the church, the bishop and the whole human race because the newly baptized enjoy 'great confidence before the King' (*P-K* 3.9). *Stav.* 2 gives a similar list of intercessions:

> Therefore, rising up out of the divine waters, indicating thereby the sign of the resurrection, beseech him for his alliance so that the gifts which you have been given are kept safe, that you shall be out of reach from the devices of the Devil. Pray for the peace of the church, plead for those who are led astray, prostrate yourself on behalf of sinners … For he has given you such confidence … and will not deny your requests … (*Stav.* 2.29)

Finn has suggested that these prayers might be patterned upon those of the Faithful in the eucharist,[69] but if that was the case we might have expected more convergence between the lists in *Stav.* and *P-K*, as we can assume that the categories were extremely familiar to Chrysostom. We notice here that the candidates were not expected to recite the Lord's Prayer, although Wenger presumed that they did because it is mentioned in this context in *Hom. on Colossians* 6, a homily delivered in Constantinople.[70] Piédagnel is more circumspect, proposing only that the Lord's Prayer 'is not certain in the baptismal liturgy of Antioch'.[71] One might presume that Chrysostom would explicitly mention the Lord's Prayer if it had been recited at this

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[66] Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 98; p. 148 n. 2.

[67] *P-K* 3.10 explains the kiss exchanged before the eucharist immediately after the conclusion of the initiation rite but without reference to it.

[68] See Finn, *Liturgy of Baptism*, pp. 197–8 where he discusses the article by Johannes Quasten: 'Der Kuss des Neugetauften in altchristlicher Taufliturgie', in W. Dürig (ed.), *Liturgie Gestalt und Vollzug* (Munich, 1963), pp. 267–71.

[69] Ibid., p. 186.

[70] Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 81.

[71] Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 65.

point, given that this prayer is reserved for the Faithful to which the candidates now belong and that it is this new status which enables them to intercede effectively.

There are various references to the baptismal robe, taken individually they are not conclusive, but together do convince that Chrysostom's candidates did indeed put one on after their baptism. In *Stav.* 4, Chrysostom says, 'they put off the burden of sin and put on the royal robe' (*Stav.* 4.3); and again, '… the most brilliant garment which they have been made worthy to put on' (*Stav.* 4.4). Piédagnel finds two further instances where Chrysostom may allude to the robe.[72] In *Stav.* 7.24 Chrysostom says, '… the exceeding purity of your soul and the brilliance of your robe reveal [this] …'; here he seems to refer to an actual robe but shortly afterwards he speaks of 'this spiritual garment'. Piédagnel presumed that Chrysostom describes the procession into church of the newly baptized when he says of Easter, '… the season reminds you of our Lord's victory, so that those who are in triumph, wearing the brilliant robes and enter in for the glory of the King …' (*P-K* 2.3). If in each of these cases Chrysostom is not speaking metaphorically, then on balance it would appear that the newly baptized did wear a white baptismal robe; however, at no point does he say when it was put on, neither does he mention it within the sequence of the baptismal rite.

If one follows the sequence of events implied in Chrysostom's lectures, then on leaving the font the candidates were welcomed into the community and they offered intercessory prayers while still in the baptistery. In his introductory remarks to *Stav.*, however, Wenger suggests a slightly different sequence: leave the font, recite the Lord's Prayer, greeting with a kiss, the eucharist;[73] but this is the result of a conflation of Antiochene and Constantinopolitan sources. Such a conflation also led Finn to suggest that it was 'not unlikely' that in Antioch the candidates received a lighted candle, a white robe and chanted Psalm 31,[74] which are like the rituals described by Proclus for Constantinople (*Hom.* 27.50–1; 32.8–9; 33.63). It cannot be presumed that rituals referred to by him and others in Constantinople were merely omitted by Chrysostom in these lectures because of an oversight, when it is more probable that they were not present in the Antiochene rite.

In our introductory comments we remarked that where there is a post-immersion anointing the transitional rituals have less significance; this was the case with *MC* and it is also evident in Mopsuestia which only has the baptismal robe. The candidate puts on 'a shining white garment' immediately upon leaving the font and before receiving the post-immersion anointing (*Hom.* 3.27). This robe is a sign that they have 'put on immortality' only in type, whereas at the resurrection they will no longer need clothing; the robe which they now put on indicates, by its brightness, that which will come (*Hom.* 3.26). Theodore's rite is quite different from Chrysostom's in that he does not mention a kiss, nor any intercessory prayer. He does not refer to a recitation of the Lord's prayer, even though elsewhere he states that it is the prayer of the baptized.[75] After having been 'signed' the candidates received communion:

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[72] Ibid., p. 66.

[73] Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome*, p. 99.

[74] Finn, *Liturgy of Baptism*, pp. 190–1.

[75] In *On the Epistle to the Romans*, Theodore says, 'For it is evident that according to the injunction of Our Lord – the "Our Father who art in Heaven" – those who have been

'When you have undergone the sacramental birth of baptism in this way, you will come forward to receive the food of immortality …' (*Hom*. 3.29).[76]

*Comparison with Jerusalem and Palestine*    It is very difficult to make comparisons when there are so few points of contact between Palestine and these Syrian rites. The Antiochene rite described by Chrysostom attaches significance to rituals which are absent from *MC* and Palestine: the greeting and the prayers. Prayers are important in *AC* 7 too, demonstrated by the provision of the precise words. In contrast to the ambiguity of the Antiochene sources about the robe, Theodore is explicit about it but in Mopsuestia the candidate is not expected to recite any prayers. *MC* then, without prayers by or for the neophyte, is unlike the Antiochene rite. The insignificance of the transitional rituals is a point of similarity between *MC* and Mopsuestia where they may have been displaced by the post-immersion anointing and in these two we find only the baptismal robe.

*The Egyptian sources*

There are no descriptions of any Alexandrian transitional rituals from Athanasius, Timothy or Cyril, and even when the latter discusses the Lord's Prayer he does not present it as the prayer of the baptized alone or as part of the initiation rite.[77] The absence of rubrics from *Ser.* also means that there is no evidence of specific rituals from this rite; however *CH* gives a full, if somewhat problematic, sequence.

   *CH*, characteristically, makes no concessions to modesty and the candidates are chrismated while still naked, after which they are dressed and led into church for the imposition of hands with a prayer by the bishop:

> He dresses him in his clothes, and takes him into the church. The bishop, lays hands on all the baptized and prays thus: 'We bless you, Lord God Almighty, for that you have made these worthy to be born again, that you pour out your Holy Spirit on them, and to be one in the body of the Church, not being excluded by alien works; but, just as you have granted them forgiveness for their sins, grant them also the pledge of your kingdom; though Jesus Christ …' Next he signs their forehead with the oil of anointing and gives them the kiss, saying 'The Lord be with you'. And those who have been baptized also say, 'And with your spirit'. He does this to each of the baptized. After that they pray with all the people of the faithful and they give them the kiss and rejoice with them with cries of gladness.[78]

   The clothing, not with any special baptismal robe, takes place in the baptistery but the final episcopal rituals occur in church. The change of location and the content of the bishop's prayer lead to the conclusion that this imposition of hands is not part of the initiatory rituals *per se*, but can only take place once the candidate has been initiated: this is evident from the thanksgiving that the candidates have become 'one

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baptized have been made worthy of calling God Father'. Quoted by R.A. Greer, *Theodore of Mopsuestia: Exegete and Theologian* (Westminster, 1961), p. 70.

   [76]   *AIRI*, p. 200.
   [77]   Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on Luke*, 71.
   [78]   Bradshaw, *Canons of Hipploytus*, p. 24.

in the body of the church'. This prayer, which Bradshaw notes may come from a local tradition,[79] would seem to be directed at all the candidates and not recited over each of them to accompany the imposition of hands. Although the prayer refers to the Holy Spirit, it is not a request that the Spirit descend on the candidates, rather it seems to summarize the sacramental actions already achieved in the rite; the only petition is that they might receive the 'pledge of the kingdom'.

In his commentary, Bradshaw noted that the occurrence of a second post-immersion anointing is unusual and that in one manuscript 'oil of anointing' is replaced by 'sign of love', giving *CH* only a single anointing (even though *AT* has two).[80] If the bishop did 'sign their forehead with the sign of love', what might that mean? Was this a sign of the love of Christ and therefore possibly the sign of the cross? Or, might it refer to the love of the community and thus a kiss and liturgical greeting?[81] The text remains obscure. It would seem unlikely that a second post-immersion anointing to which no significance is attached would occur, since it would dilute or nullify the import of the chrismation, but it is difficult to conceive how a liturgical kiss could be understood as a 'signing on the forehead with the sign of love'. The majority of manuscripts maintain this second post-immersion anointing, however unusual its presence and obscure its meaning. The kiss and its dialogue are exchanged with each of the neophytes in turn who then take their place in the assembly for the prayers of the faithful, where this episcopal gesture is repeated with the people. The liturgy continues with the deacon beginning the eucharist, possibly implying that the kiss and greeting by the people was the customary kiss of peace before the anaphora.

Despite the presence of a post-immersion anointing, in *CH* we find a series of transitional rituals more extensive than those found in rites without such anointings. It is also possible that were our suspicions about the transitional rituals in *It.Eg.* to be unfounded, then the episcopal acts described here may provide some substance to her account. We have already seen how the ritual sequence in *CH* has some parallels with *MC*, but here the two sources are quite distinct: none of the rituals just described appear in *MC*.

*Ser.* 11[82] is entitled 'Prayer after being baptized and coming up' which implies that it was recited upon leaving the font and, as Johnson remarks, 'with its references to blessing and preservation "to the end", its contents clearly suggest that it should be read as a final prayer of blessing or dismissal which concluded the entire baptismal rite'.[83] Barrett-Lennard was sufficiently convinced by the presence of two post-immersion anointings in *CH* 19 to propose that 'if there were two anointings in Thmuis, (*Ser.* 11) would fit quite well with the prayer in *CH* 19, between the

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[79]  Ibid., note.

[80]  Ibid.

[81]  J.M. Hanssens, 'L'Édition Critique des Canons d'Hippolyte', *OCP*, 32 (1966): 542.

[82]  'God, the God of truth, maker of all things, the Lord of the whole creation, bless this your servant with your blessing. Render him pure in the regeneration; appoint him a partner with your angelic powers in order that he may no longer be called flesh but spiritual, sharing in your divine beneficial gift. May he be sustained until the end by you …' (Barrett-Lennard, *Sacramentary of Sarapion*, p. 39).

[83]  Johnson, *Prayers of Sarapion*, p. 136.

anointings …'.[84] But, there is no evidence in *Ser.* from which to presume anything like the sequence described in *CH* and to propose two anointings would seem to be going too far, when some have doubted the presence even of one. If, as we have concluded, the rite did contain a single post-immersion anointing, then it is highly likely that *Ser.* 11 came after it.[85] Again, only if we accept Egeria's Anastasis prayer could there be any connection between *Ser.* 11 and Jerusalem.

*Comparison with Jerusalem and Palestine*   We find few points of comparison between these provinces. The rituals described by *CH* 19 find no parallel in the Palestinian sources, unless the episcopal prayer can be equated with Egeria's account of a blessing in the Anastasis and if the hand-laying equates with that possibly implied in *Cat.* 16.26, both of which we are minded not to accept. If the only transitional ritual which we can possibly identify in *MC* is the baptismal garment, which neither *CH* nor *Ser.* mention, then Egypt has not influenced this part of the Palestinian rite.

*Summary Conclusions: the transitional rituals*

We have noted above that although the stock of transitional rituals was quite fixed, their deployment was varied within and between provinces. The uneven amount of evidence from individual sources and from provinces and sees is unlikely to be due merely to the genres from which our evidence has been taken. Although we noted that in Jerusalem, both pre- and post-baptismal catecheses give little information, the catechetical lectures of Chrysostom give fuller descriptions. Therefore, it seems to us that the uneven distribution of evidence for these rituals is likely to reflect practice, or intent in the case of church orders, which makes the conflation of sources considerably misleading.

For *MC*, we have concluded that the candidates put on a baptismal robe of some sort and that their entry into the Martyrium with the bishop during or at the end of the vigil is likely to have been quite prominent. We have also suggested that Egeria's description of the procession going first to the Anastasis may well be unfounded as it is not supported by any other Jerusalem sources and that she may have presumed a station there because the candidates and clergy entered the church from the atrium to the West of the Martyrium; this would be the case whether her comments relate to the initiation rite presumed in *Cats*, or to *MC*. We have proposed that the lack of transitional rituals may well be due to the presence or introduction of a post-immersion anointing and have noted that the Mopsuestian rite is similar to *MC* here; rites without this anointing tend to contain many more rituals. *CH* and *AC*, however,

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[84]   Barrett-Lennard, *Sacramentary of Sarapion*, p. 39n.

[85]   Johnson vehemently opposes the insertion of a post-baptismal anointing before *Ser.* 11: 'If Prayer 11's rubrical title is taken at face value, then there is simply no room for a postbaptismal anointing. And, more importantly, if the language of this prayer is interpreted as indicating a concluding blessing, there is, likewise, no room for a postbaptismal anointing after it.' (*Prayers of Sarapion*, p. 136) However, the presence of *Ser.* 16 in the sacramentary indicates that at Thmuis there was such an anointing, even if *Ser.* 16 was recited before the rite and not between 10 and 11; it is likely that *Ser.* reflects a situation where the chrismation had been introduced but the 'traditional' prayers had not been revised to take account of it.

do not fit this proposition and it is difficult to know what conclusion to make about the rituals in these two sources, but given the prescriptive nature of their genre it is possible that both stand outside the mainstream practice of their provinces.

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# Conclusion

The presentation of the evidence for the baptismal liturgies of Jerusalem, Palestine, Syria and Egypt has sought to determine the relationship between the various rites. Using the Jerusalem and Palestinian sources we have explored the likely evolution of the rite; using the Syrian and Egyptian we have looked for signs of a relationship of influence with Jerusalem and Palestine. Initially and at stages throughout the discussion it has become clear that establishing the date of *MC* is a critical factor, one which affects the conclusions about liturgical evolution and the relationship of influence.

**The Evolution of the Palestinian Initiation Rite**

In the reconstructed *ordo* for Jerusalem based upon *MC* 1–3 (appendix), we have been able to show how this rite may have been performed but not present the conclusions upon which such a 'reconstruction' has been based; here we will first reiterate our conclusions about the rite in *MC* and then discuss how *MC* relates to initiation rites elsewhere in Palestine.

We have noted how the renunciation and adherence sequence in *MC* seems to function as a self-contained unit; this seems apparent from the instructions about orientation which do not fit the topography of the Holy Sepulchre complex and by what seems to be the 'ritual incoherence' of the candidates receiving exorcized oil after having declared their allegiance. There is, additionally, a duplication of the confessions of faith: the first, a natural counterpart to the renunciation in both content and rhythm; the second elicited by the interrogation accompanying the immersions. These factors seem to hint at a possible re-organization of the pre-immersion rituals; we do not necessarily wish to conclude that they are an addition to the rite, but merely suggest that the form in which they are presented may be new. The extent to which the rest of the rituals are 'new' in *MC* depends very much upon how one interprets the hints in the other hagiopolite and Palestinian sources: at what stage before the end of the fourth century did Palestine know an interrogation from the font and a post-immersion anointing?

There seem to be several grounds upon which to claim that the liturgy described in *MC* is not that alluded to by Cyril in *Cats*. The claim that *MC's* adoption of Romans' typology was affected by its topography cannot be sustained when the rite in *Cats* was performed in the same location but does not contain such an emphasis. In *Cat.* 3, Cyril presents all the biblical typologies relevant to baptism, and uses those passages from scripture which best suit his purpose at the time. We do not find the interpretation of, or allusion to, particular rituals in terms of specific typologies, such as we have identified in *MC*. Cyril implies a ritual sequence of pre-immersion anointing, which he describes as a 'seal', and an immersion with no post-immersion anointing. The evidence for a renunciation-adherence sequence is thin, but should

the latter have existed, we can be fairly sure that it was not made by the recitation of a declaratory creed, as that occurs in the final lecture. The initiation rite presumed in *Cats* was unlike that of *MC* and appears closer to the rite described by Chrysostom, for example.

The other Palestinian witnesses give only cursory accounts of the initiation rites and this complicates any attempt to place the rites to which they allude in relation to *MC* and *Cats*. Egeria's evidence for Jerusalem we have found to be greatly wanting in detail and accuracy. In her description of the baptism at Aenon, she only records the immersion; was she not told anything else or did she not record the other rituals? There are references to 'sealing' in other sources but these are also unclear: Hilarion and Euthymius 'seal' those who have been converted, but can this be equated with the sealing in *Cats*, and therefore as a pre-immersion anointing? In *V.Porph.*, *V.Hil.* and *V.Euthym.*, the candidates receive instruction after they have been 'sealed', which may indicate that here it functions as entry into the catechumenate, even though the Jerusalem sources do not mention any such ritual. Despite not finding any positive evidence for a pre-immersion anointing, there may be negative evidence for the post-immersion anointing in Gaza, and possibly Caesarea in the early fifth century. The Arian converted by Porphyrius and John, bishop of Caesarea on their way back from Constantinople is received by signing, and not explicitly by chrismation; the lack of chrism here *may* indicate that the Gazan rite did not have a post-immersion anointing, and thus was similar in structure to that of *Cats*. However, we might have expected the accounts of baptism in *V.Porph.* to more explicitly relate to those in *MC* considering Porphyrius was a senior priest at the Holy Sepulchre before his elevation: either he simply used the Gazan rite without change, although given the poor state of the church there he would surely have been able to implement whatever changes he wished; or his biographer has omitted rather a lot of details; or the rite of *MC* 1–3 was not yet in use in Jerusalem when Porphyrius left (397). Of these suggestions it is the last which we find most convincing, particularly when one additionally takes into account the evidence of *AE*.

We conclude that *Cats* and *MC* testify to different initiatory rites, and that the latter was not in place in Jerusalem until the very last years of the fifth century at the earliest.

## The Relationship of Influence

We discussed the suggestions of Ratcliff, Cuming and Spinks about the regional influences upon and by the initiation rite in *MC* and before presenting our contribution to this debate we will first clarify the principles upon which such conclusions can be made. In attempting to determine whether these rites are dependent upon each other, or show any sort of relationship, the following factors have to be considered.

### Narrative

We have shown how the performance of a rite may be affected by the dominant typology upon which it relies. This is exhibited in the sequence of liturgical units, but

also in how each action is understood to contribute to the whole initiation process. We have referred to the distinction made by Winkler and others between rites based upon the Jordan event and those upon Romans and have seen that although a rite may *prefer* one dominant typology, it generally never restricts itself to just one. Given the effect of the typology upon the rite, in the search for rites which may have influenced or been influenced by *MC*, we will need to identify those which express a primary typology based upon Romans 6, but for the post-immersion anointing replace that with Jordan event.

*Structural Units*

The presence, absence and position of a secondary structural unit within a rite directly affects how each unit within the sequence is understood to contribute to the initiation process. The absence in another rite of a structural unit which is critical to the process in *MC* will therefore indicate that there is no direct relationship between them. We need to look, therefore, for a similar structure to the rite as a whole, as well as to the relationship between the primary and secondary structural units.

*Performance*

Connected with the above is the manner of performing each secondary structural unit and its theological and initiatory import. The presence alone of a secondary structural unit is not a sufficient basis upon which to posit a relationship between two rites; this is most evident with the pre-immersion anointing.

## Syria

The use of Romans death-resurrection typology is present in the West Syrian sources we have examined, although only *AC* applies it consistently in all three rites it describes. Chrysostom does not use this as a typology for the rite, but rather identifies Christian initiation in terms of Christ's baptism in the Jordan. Theodore, shows awareness of both these typologies and, as we have remarked, does not appear to favour any particular one, although emphasizing that initiation is effected by rebirth through water and the Spirit, as John 3:5.

 *AC* and Theodore have a similar ritual sequence, although understanding the function of each unit differently; whereas Chrysostom's rite, without a post-immersion anointing, can be distinguished from them and from *MC*. In the specific manner of conducting each primary and secondary unit, it has become very evident that *MC* bears no relation to the rite described by Chrysostom: although the renunciation formula is similar, the adherence is not and there is no instruction about orientation; the existence and import of the double pre-immersion anointing is not found in *MC*; the impersonal declaratory formula at the immersion contrasts with the interrogation of *MC*, even though in both rites the candidates were immersed thrice.

 We identified a pattern of renunciation and adherence in this province: the renunciation was by a formula which shows widespread harmony between all the

Eastern provinces; the submission-type adherence in all three, followed by a creed in *AC* and a Trinitarian declaration of faith in Mopsuestia, is quite different from *MC*. Additionally, all three have a double pre-immersion anointing; but not even in *AC* which has adopted Romans typology is this an exorcistic anointing. In this province too, the pre-immersion anointing is administered with chrism, which in *MC* is reserved for the post-immersion anointing.

In our examination of the second primary liturgical unit, we noted that *AC* 7.43 may bear witness to the type of prayer over the water implied in *MC*, namely an anamnesis followed by a petition that the water be made effective for its purpose; this is decidedly unlike the invocation over the water which Theodore emphasizes and which Chrysostom implies. Again, in not one of these rites is the immersion accompanied by an interrogation, rather Chrysostom and Theodore stress an impersonal Trinitarian formula and *AC* also implies such a formula.

Despite the presence of a post-immersion anointing in *AC* and Mopsuestia, neither understand it as bestowing the Holy Spirit. That the pre-immersion anointing in *AC* 7 is for the Holy Spirit, we have suggested, may indicate that the sort of transformation or evolution which is evident in *MC* had only been partially implemented in *AC*, confirming that *AC* pre-dates *MC*. We suggested in chapter 6 that the presence of a post-immersion anointing may diminish the transitional rituals or cause them not to develop: *MC* and Theodore attest to a paucity of these rituals.

In terms of the typology of the rite, the overall structure, the prayer over the water and the presence of a post-immersion anointing, *AC* 7 shares much with *MC*. Chrysostom shows no evidence of the Antiochene rite being subject to the same influences as that of Jerusalem, and although the Mopsuestian rite has a similar structure to *MC*, it is distinguished by typology and the performance of each ritual. If Chrysostom still witnesses to the 'primitive Syrian pattern', such as we find in East Syria and possibly also in *Cats*, then it is quite clear that *MC* has departed from it: if, however he witnesses only to *one* example of the 'Syrian pattern', and the presence of a post-immersion anointing in Theodore and *AC* are not departures from that pattern but merely different expressions of it, then, in an argument based upon structure *MC* could still be described as 'Syrian'. Certain features of *MC*, though, can be likened to only one of these rites and thus in an absence of a common pattern we would be reluctant to endorse Ratcliff's view that *MC* is 'fundamentally the old Syrian rite with some impressive embellishments', although acknowledging the connection he made with *AC*.

The issue of whether *MC* has influenced or been influenced by the West Syrian rite remains. The dates of these sources, *c*. 380 for *AC* and between 392 and 428 for Theodore's catechetical homilies, would permit *MC* to have been influenced by *AC*, and to have influenced Theodore. *AC* is closer to *MC*, than say Cyril's *Cats*, but the differences in the function of each secondary unit suggest that at the most both were subject to the similar influences rather than there being any dependent relationship. There would also appear to be no dependence by Theodore upon either *MC* or *AC*, and it is difficult even to posit and indirect relationship between them.

## Egypt

Are there sufficient points of convergence between *MC* and the Egyptian sources for us to follow Cuming's suggestion that the baptismal formula and the post-immersion anointing indicate that 'the affinities of the Jerusalem baptismal rite lie with Egypt'? Although *CH* does not provide us with any typology, *Ser.* interestingly does use Romans typology and the Jordan event but differently than *MC*: where *MC* uses Romans typology for the immersion, *Ser.* uses the Jordan event. In the Alexandrian sources we noted an emphasis upon Christ's baptism. Structurally, the rites of *CH* and *Ser.* have much in common with *MC*: all contain a renunciation, adherence, pre-immersion anointing, immersion, and post-immersion anointing. In *CH*, though, the reversal of the adherence and the pre-immersion anointing appears to avoid what could be described as a 'ritual incoherence' in *MC*.

Significantly *CH* indicates the same orientation for the renunciation and adherence as *MC* and these units are performed in a similar manner. From Timothy of Alexandria we also learn that the renunciation took place outside the baptistery, as at Jerusalem. These are the only sources examined which conform to *MC* in these liturgical units. The renunciation formula is much abbreviated in *CH*, and that of adherence gives a combined declaration of submission and of Trinitarian faith, although *Dêr-Balyzeh* also gives a declaratory Trinitarian formula: the Trinitarian formula of *MC*'s adherence is without the expanded clauses of *Dêr-Balyzeh* and the 'submission-clause' of *CH*. The episcopal prayers in *Ser.*, recited after these rituals find no parallel in any source we have discussed. Again, we find that *CH* is closest to *MC* over the exorcistic pre-immersion anointing, although there it is described as the oil *of* exorcism rather than oil which has been exorcized, and in *Ser.* we noted a mixed interpretation, exorcistic and prophylactic, which we suggested could possibly be inferred from *MC* 2.3.

The immersion would seem to have been accompanied by an interrogation in the early part of the fourth century, which was replaced by a declaratory formula towards the middle and end. The questions and answers in *CH* provide a possible indication of how the interrogation was conducted in Jerusalem, but the additional and confusing presence of the declaratory formula prevents complete identification. Concerning the adoption of the declaratory formula in Egypt, we discussed in chapter 5 how Egypt appears to have experienced a reversal of the process in Jerusalem, and found ourselves unable to account for a possible Syrian practice travelling to Egypt but being ignored by Jerusalem. *CH* and *Ser.* provide evidence for a post-immersion anointing before it was adopted by Jerusalem, but they do not carry the same meaning. No theological explanation is given in *CH*, and *Ser.* too is unclear, but neither give any suggestion that it effects reception of the Spirit. The application of the oil to specific locations in *CH* is similar, but not identical, to *MC*. The transitional rituals in *CH* are extensive and find no parallel in *MC*.

The only Egyptian elements which Cuming identified in *MC* were the baptismal formula and the post-immersion anointing, but we have noted that the pre-immersion rituals also have much in common with *MC*. Of all the sources discussed *MC* is closer to *CH* than any single other source, and that *CH* predates *MC* makes it a credible possibility that the former could have influenced the latter. The lack of a theology of

baptism in *CH* is a complicating factor, although the use, albeit different, of Romans typology in *Ser.* does suggest that a shift in typology occurred in this province before Jerusalem. This can only indicate that the author of *MC* was possibly influenced by a rite which was more like that of *CH* and *Ser.*, than that of Cyril and Chrysostom, which is not to say that Jerusalem found a model for its rite in Egypt, but that *MC* may well have been subject to an influence from a source sharing similarities with *CH*.

*MC*, then, clearly does not reflect the Syrian pattern of initiation described by Chrysostom for Antioch. Ratcliff's view cannot be maintained in its entirety: we are unable to support his idea that *MC* were preached by Cyril in 350; that the topography of the Holy Sepulchre complex caused the introduction of Romans typology; that *AC* is dependent upon *MC*; and that *MC* is simply a reorganisation of the 'traditional Syrian rite', rather than a reworking of it. Inadvertently, though, he may well have provided an insight into the process by which a Syrian rite might incorporate Romans typology. In the 'traditional Syrian rite', the Holy Spirit is bestowed by the pre-immersion anointing, and, as Brock has shown, this permitted the candidate's 'adoption' and gave him permission to address God as 'Our Father'.[1] In *AC*, Romans typology is consistently used, and the pre-immersion anointing retains elements of the 'traditional Syrian pattern' in its reference to the 'grace of the Spirit' (*AC* 3.16,4; 3.17,1: 7.22,2; 7.42,2). In *MC*, the overtly exorcistic pre-immersion anointing, and reservation of the Spirit and adoption until after the immersion shows a quite different ritual expression of this typology. We might tentatively suggest that *AC* represents an early (the earliest?) attempt to express liturgically the idea of identifying with Christ's death and burial in the font, but that there was not a complete re-ordering of the received Antiochene pattern; *MC*, though, witnesses to a more thorough application of this typology, causing not just the re-ordering of the rite but its complete re-interpretation.

In sequence, *MC* resembles the Egyptian sources *CH* and *Ser.*, although there are some important distinctions between them, which indicate that *MC* was not *directly* influenced by these. It has become apparent that the two sources which lie closest to *MC*, both theologically and structurally, would appear to be those 'derived' from *AT*: *CH* and *AC*. If *AT*, as reconstructed, lies behind *CH* and *AC*, then the manner in which these two texts have interpreted their source is quite distinctive. It is possible, we suggest, that *MC* might be a hagiopolite interpretation of whatever source(s) – possibly even a version of *AT* – which lies behind the common sequence in *CH* and *AC*. To look for a regional influence upon *MC* is to search in the wrong place, and we suggest that the next stage of research into the liturgy of *MC* and Jerusalem needs to concern itself with what might have been the common source behind *CH*, *AC* and *MC*.

## The Date and Authorship of the *Mystagogical Catecheses*

In chapter 2 we presented and reviewed the issues which have been used to demonstrate that *MC* was either by Cyril or by John; in concluding this review

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[1]  Brock, 'Transition', p. 218.

we arrived at a working hypothesis about the date based upon the inconclusive manuscript attributions; the absence of any theological position which could be clearly attributed to Cyril or John, although the sacramental theology appears to demonstrate a mind other than Cyril's; and that the number of lectures and the syllabus of *MC* places it after *It.Eg.* (383–4) but before *AE* (early fifth century, but before 417). It is notable that the liturgical information is generally neglected by those addressing the authorship question and it has been our contention in this study that conclusions about the relationship of the liturgy in *MC* with that of Palestine and its neighbours, within a time period in which *MC* was likely to have been composed and the liturgy there in use, will yield important insights. Our contribution to this issue will revolve around placing *MC* within the context of evolving liturgical use in Syria, in Egypt and in Palestine:

1 If the Jerusalem church of the late fourth century was still influenced by the patriarchate of Antioch and thus the liturgical influences upon her can be described as 'Syrian', then it becomes unlikely that *MC* was composed by Cyril. We have shown how *MC* is similar to *AC* but more advanced in the employment of its typology and its effect upon the structure and performance of the initiation rite. Looking at the more coherent application of the 'new' ritual of the post-immersion anointing, it is closer to Theodore. We therefore conclude that *MC* is later than *AC* (380), and possibly contemporary with Theodore's episcopate (392–428).

2 If the Jerusalem Church was subject to Egyptian influence and if that influence was *CH*, being the closest in terms of both structure and performance, it is possible that the initiation rite of *CH* could have been incorporated at any time during the second half of the fourth century, which would allow Cyril to have been responsible for the Jerusalem rite in *MC*. However, we have suggested that there are sufficient differences between them to demonstrate that *MC* was not directly influenced by *CH*, only that it may have been subject to something *like CH*. We have also noted that by the end of the fourth century there is evidence to show that the Alexandrian church had rejected elements which *MC* and *CH* had in common, notably the interrogation in the font. If, then, Egypt influenced *MC* at the *terminus ad quo* of its composition then the move from a declaratory formula to an interrogation in Jerusalem cannot be sourced in Egypt.

3 In examining the relationship between the Palestinian rites we suggested that the liturgy alluded to in *V.Porph.* was similar in structure to that alluded to in *Cats*, which implies that the liturgy of *MC* was not in use in Jerusalem when Porphyrius moved from being a priest at the Holy Sepulchre to become bishop of Gaza (*c.* 397). Crucial also is the convergence between *MC* and *AE*, indicating that *MC* achieved the form in which we know it during the early fifth century.

Unlike Doval, whose extended hagiographical treatment of Cyril precedes an examination of the authorship question on the basis of a comparison of the known literary works of Cyril with *MC*, we have proceeded from the liturgical evidence alone to arrive at a date or period of composition and only then make conclusions about authorship. Thus, the most important factors to take into account are:

- That the more developed rite in *MC* places it after *AC* and most possibly contemporary with Theodore's episcopate;
- That the initiation rite in *MC* was not in use in Jerusalem by 397;
- That the number of lectures in *MC* is the same as that in *AE*.

We conclude that *MC* is more likely to date from the early fifth century and therefore to be by John.

# Appendix: The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem in the *Mystagogical Catecheses*

In our conclusions to the discussion of each structural unit we have attempted to clarify the sequence of the initiation rite in *MC* and here we shall present it as an ordo. This enables us to see the pattern of the rite more clearly, and the connections between the liturgical structural units; it also serves to highlight where *MC* fails to provide a comprehensive description.

We have commented in a number of places that *MC* makes no reference to the ministers of baptism; it does not refer to the variety of ministries employed nor to any specific rituals reserved to the bishop. Such a lack of evidence becomes more noticeable in this endeavour, where it is necessary to make a judgement about the number and type of clergy involved, based upon ritual sequence and location. We have assessed the evidence for the use of deaconesses in Palestine and have concluded that they had no role in this rite, thus here we are concerned only with the bishop, the presbyters and the deacons. Egeria mentions deacons having a prominent liturgical role in the church of the Holy Sepulchre and we could assume that a number of them were required to assist at baptisms, particularly to ensure that the candidates were in the correct location for each ritual, and thus it is likely that it was a diaconal responsibility to supervise entrance to the baptistery, assist with the stripping and help entry into and exit from the font. The sacramental words and actions are likely to have been conducted by presbyters or the bishop. We consider it possible, because of the presence of a second (interrogatory) confession of faith from the font, that a presbyter conducted the renunciation and adherence in the porch, who did not then witness the immersion. The bishop was most probably in the baptistery, but whether he simply observed, as in *CH*, or had a specific role cannot be known. We have, therefore, simply put 'minister' rather than speculate about their rank, and have thought it likely that as many as four may have been required.

In *BEBP*, we discussed the topography of the Holy Sepulchre in relation to the initiation rite and here we merely recall our conclusion that the baptistery was a single room containing the font, entered via a porch or antechamber which was large enough to permit the candidates to assemble. The baptistery was located on the north side of the complex, adjacent to the western atrium and, unlike the rest of the complex, it was orientated towards the east. From the baptistery there was direct access to the western atrium and the candidates entered the Martyrium presumably from a door to the north of the sanctuary.

At an unspecified moment before the rite commenced, the elements were prepared; this was not done in the presence of the candidates:

• The oil for the pre-immersion anointing, unperfumed olive oil, was exorcized.

- The baptismal water was consecrated with a prayer containing a Christological anamnesis and a petition that by it the candidate might be identified with Christ in his death and resurrection, possibly similar to that in *AC* 7.43.
- The *myron*, perfumed olive oil, was consecrated with a prayer which included an epiklesis of the Holy Spirit.

*In the porch of baptistery, candidates face West and are told (by deacon 1) to stretch out a hand:*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Minister/Presbyter 1:* | I renounce you Satan. |
| *Candidate repeats:* | I renounce you Satan. |
| *Minister/Presbyter 1:* | And all his works. |
| *Candidate:* | And all your works. |
| *Minister/Presbyter 1:* | And all his pomp. |
| *Candidate:* | And all your pomp. |
| *Minister/Presbyter 1:* | And all his service. |
| *Candidate:* | And all your service. |

*Deacon turns candidate to face East.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Minister 1:* | I believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Spirit and in the baptism of repentance. |
| | *Or*, |
| | Do you believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Spirit and in the baptism of repentance? |
| *Candidate:* | I believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Spirit and in the baptism of repentance. |

*Candidate is summoned individually to enter the baptistery.*
*Candidate is told to undress, or helped to do so (by deacon 2?).*
*Minister 2 pours oil on the candidate's head,*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Minister 2 prays:* | that the oil might purify X by burning away every trace of sinfulness and driving away the invisible powers of the evil one. |

*Deacon 3 leads candidate from location inside baptistery where he has stripped and been anointed to the font. Candidate enters font.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Minister 3:* | Do you believe in the Father? |
| *Candidate:* | I believe. |

*Candidate immersed by the minister for the first time.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Minister 3:* | Do you believe in the Son? |
| *Candidate:* | I believe. |

*Candidate immersed by the minister for the second time.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Minister 3:* | Do you believe in the Holy Spirit? |
| *Candidate:* | I believe. |

*Candidate immersed by the minister for the third time.*
*Candidate leaves the font.*
*Minister 4 anoints candidate on the forehead:*

| | |
|---|---|
| | May you be delivered from the disgrace which the first man, a transgressor, carried everywhere, and may you |

> reflect the glory of the Lord by the uncovering of your face.

*Minister 4 anoints candidate on the ears*:

> May you receive ears to hear the divine mysteries (about which Isaiah said) 'and the Lord has given me ears to hear' and (the Lord Jesus in the Gospels), 'Whoever has ears to hear, let him hear'.

*Minister 4 anoints candidate on the nostrils*:

> May you be to God a fragrance of Christ in those being saved.

*Minister 4 anoints candidate on the breast*:

> Having put on the breastplate of righteousness may you face the works of the devil.

*Candidate puts on a (white) robe.*

*Candidates leave baptistery with the clergy and process to the Martyrium for the eucharist.*

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